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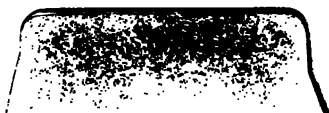
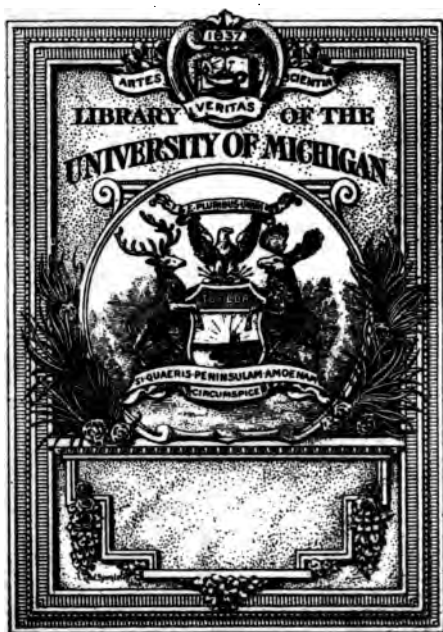
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GREAT EPOCHS IN AMERICAN HISTORY



EDITED BY
FRANCIS W. HALSEY



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GREAT EPOCHS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

DESCRIBED BY FAMOUS WRITERS
FROM COLUMBUS TO ROOSEVELT

Edited, with Introductions and Explanatory Notes

By **FRANCIS W. HALSEY**

Associate Editor of "The World's Famous Orations"; Associate Editor of "The Best of the World's Classics"; author of "The Old New York Frontier," etc.

PATRONS' EDITION. IN TEN VOLUMES
ILLUSTRATED

Vol. X

OUR OWN RECENT TIMES
1877—1911

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NEW YORK AND LONDON

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INTRODUCTION

(Our Own Recent Times)

During this, the last of our great epochs in American history, occurred the war with Spain. At its conclusion, not an acre of land in America was owned by the people for whom the Continent was discovered and by whom it was first explored and settled. This was the last of our five wars with foreign states. The first, the war with France, secured to North America Anglo-Saxon civilization instead of Latin; the Revolution created a new Federal republic; the war of 1812 demonstrated that we were a naval power able to cope with Europe; the war with Mexico secured for the national domain a territory larger than was acquired in the Louisiana Purchase; the war with Spain raised the Republic to a new and high level as a world power.

Within this epoch of thirty-five years marvelous progress was made. Territory after territory was relinquished from control by Congress and raised to autonomous distinction as a State, until

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INTRODUCTION

not one remained to knock at the door. The West and Far West have been so well peopled and developed that we no longer possess a frontier. Where once existed a so-called "great desert" are fruitful farms, thriving towns, growing cities, all linked together by well-equipped railroad, telegraph, and telephone lines. With only a single railway across the continent in 1868, eight trunk lines now transport passengers and freight to the Pacific, nearly all highly profitable to their stockholders. Three others have been built, wholly or in part, just across our northern border, and a ship canal, the greatest ever built, will soon provide a waterway to seaports on our Western coast.

The causes of this growth are manifold—fertile lands, often to be had for the asking; mountains, only to be opened to disclose copper, silver and gold; commerce with the Orient, all hastened to rapid development by the spirit of a free and multiplying people, aided by the mechanical genius of the modern age—coal and steam applied to railroads, factories and the heating of buildings; machinery applied to farming; the typewriter to correspondence and literary pro-

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duction; the automobile to passenger traffic, traction and trucking; electricity to the telegraph, telephone, trolley and the darkness of the night.¹ More and greater changes have been wrought in the conditions of human life by these inventions than in all other years since modern civilization began.

It is largely to these marvels of invention that we owe the growing solidarity of the Federal Union. They have made for unity of interest in public affairs, for homogeneity in customs, educational ideals, general intellectual life, and a common sense of nationality. In the political, intellectual, social and commercial life of the nation State lines have more and more receded, until States seem destined to become conscious of a relation to the Federal Union scarcely more independent than that of counties to States—their individuality more and more merged into the national life. On the Atlantic seaboard are made text-books for schools in every city, town and rural neighborhood of the Union. A library movement has planted public libraries in almost every urban

¹The typewriter dates from 1878, the telephone from 1877, the electric light from 1879, the electric railway from 1880, the automobile, as made to-day, from about 1894.

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and rural community from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and stocked them with practically the same books. No event of national consequence occurs in one part of the country that it is not known at once through the newspapers in every other part. Our best weekly papers find as eager readers in Texas as in Maine, in Oregon as in Florida; they are written, not for a locality, but for the whole country. Our monthly magazines, tho published almost exclusively on the Atlantic coast, gather their millions of readers from the most remote and distant places. The telegraph, improved printing-presses, machine typesetting, cheap paper, process illustration, prompt postal delivery, lower postal rates, all the creations of the modern age, have made it possible for these organs of opinion and purveyors of information thus to aid in preserving the unification of the States.

Growth has been most rapid in a section that formerly was the most backward. Seven years after the South was freed from negro domination and the negro forced to abandon politics and turn to his former occupation of cultivating the soil, the cotton production of the South had risen from

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5,000,000 bales before the Civil War to 8,000,000 bales; in 1911 the production was 15,000,000 bales. Similar increases took place in crops of wheat, corn, fruit and vegetables for Northern markets. Negroes, well-to-do for their neighborhoods, are not uncommon, while a few have been known to possess considerable fortunes.

Steam and electricity, combined with free labor, have completely transformed the South. It is rapidly becoming one of the chief industrial sections in America. Colored men, everywhere acquiring small holdings of land, promise eventually to be the chief producers of cotton. Other industries have meanwhile come rapidly to the front, but these are controlled by the whites. Thirty years ago the agricultural products of the South exceeded the manufactures by \$200,000,000 annually. The conditions in 1900 had been reversed, the manufactures, including the products of mines, then exceeding the agricultural products by \$300,000,000. Ten years later this manufacturing excess was much greater.

Each census year brings to public knowledge a new story for the whole country—of a population grown from less than 4,000,000 when the Con-

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stitution was adopted to nearly 10,000,000 in 1820, to 32,000,000 at the outbreak of the Civil War, to 50,000,000 in 1880, to 92,000,000 in 1910, with the probability that an excess of 100,000,000 will have been reached long before 1920; of a single corporation which in ten years disbursed \$736,000,000 in dividends to its stockholders; of a railway mileage of 236,000 miles, where only 35,000 miles existed at the close of the Civil War; of a passenger traffic that has doubled, and a freight traffic that has trebled in twenty years; of an educational system for which, in 1909, \$400,000,000 was appropriated, as against only \$79,000,000 in 1877; of a country once wholly agricultural, but now so given to manufactures that the capital employed in such industries has reached the stupendous total of more than \$13,000,000,000.

Thus has been verified the remark of Count Aranda, Spanish Commissioner at the signing of the Treaty of Peace in Paris in 1782—"A federal republic is this day born a pigmy, but the day will come when, to these countries here, it will be formidable as a giant, even a colossus."

F. W. H.

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OUR OWN RECENT TIMES
1877—1911



THE INVENTION OF THE TELEPHONE—THE SHARE IN IT OF BELL AND EDISON

(1877)

THE "ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA'S" ACCOUNT¹

In 1831 Wheatstone, by his "magic lyre" experiment, showed that, when the sounding-boards of two musical instruments are connected together by a rod of pine wood, a tune played on one will be faithfully reproduced by the other. This only answers, however, for telephoning musical sounds to short distances. Another and somewhat similar example is furnished by what has been variously designated as the "string," "toy," "lovers'," and "mechanical" telephone. Two disks of thin metal, or two stretched membranes, each furnished with a mouthpiece, are connected together by a thin string or wire attached at each end to the centers of the membranes. A good example may be made with two cylindrical tin cups; the bottoms form the membranes and the cups the mouthpieces. . . .

In July, 1837, Dr. C. G. Page, of Salem, Massachusetts, drew attention to the sound given out by an electromagnet at the instant when the electric circuit is closed or broken, and in October of the same year he discust, in a short article entitled "Galvanic Music," the musical

¹ From an article in the ninth edition of the "Britannica."

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note produced by rapidly revolving the armature of an electromagnet in front of the poles. Experiments bearing on this subject were subsequently made by a great number of investigators. Page's discovery is of considerable importance in connection with the theory of action of various forms of telephone, and was a very important feature in the early attempts by Reis to transmit music and speech.

On August 26, 1854, there appeared in *L'Illustration* (Paris) an interesting article by Charles Bourseul on the electric transmission of speech. The writer recommended the use of a flexible plate at the source of sound, which would vibrate in response to the varying pressure of the air, and thus open and close an electric circuit, and of a similar plate at the receiving station, which would be acted on electromagnetically and thus give out as many pulsations as there are breaks in the current. These suggestions were to some extent an anticipation of the work of Reis; but the conditions to be fulfilled before the sounds given out at the receiving station can be similar in pitch, quality, and relative intensity to those produced at the transmitting station are not stated, and do not seem to have been appreciated.

In Reis's lecture an apparatus was described which has given rise to much discussion as to priority in the invention of the telephone. The instrument was described in over fifty publications in various countries, and was well known to physicists previous to Bell's introduction of the electric telephone as a competitor with the electric telegraph. Reis caused a membrane to

INVENTION OF THE TELEPHONE

open and close an electric circuit at each vibration, thus transmitting as many electric pulses through the circuit as there were vibrations in the sound. These electric pulses were made to act on an electromagnet at the receiving station, which, in accordance with Page's discovery, gave out a sound of a pitch corresponding to the number of times it was magnetized or demagnetized per second. . . .

The next worker at the telephone, and the one to whom the present great commercial importance of the instrument is due, was Bell.² His aim was the production, by means of the undulations of pressure on a membrane caused by sound, of an electric current the strength of which should at every instant vary directly as the pressure varied. His first idea seems to have been to employ the vibrations of the current in an electric circuit, produced by moving the armature of an electromagnet included in the circuit nearer to or farther from the poles of the magnet. He proposed to make the armature partake of the vibrations of the atmosphere either by converting it into a suitable vibrator or by controlling its vibrations by a stretched membrane of parchment. In the early trials the armature had the form of a hinged lever of iron carrying a stud at one end, which prest against the center of a stretched membrane.

The experiments with this form were not suc-

² Alexander Graham Bell was born in Edinburgh in 1847, and came to America in 1870. He settled in Boston the next year as a professor of vocal physiology. Six years later his invention of the telephone was announced. His home is now in Washington.

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cessful, and, with the view of making the moving parts as light as possible, he substituted for the comparatively heavy lever armature a small piece of clock-spring, about the size of a sixpence, glued to the center of the diaphragm. The magnet was mounted with its end carrying the coil opposite, and very close to, the center of the piece of clock-spring. This answered sufficiently well to prove the feasibility of the plan, and subsequent experiments were directed to the discovery of the best form and arrangement of the parts. An increase in the size of the iron disk attached to the membrane augmented both the loudness and the distinctness of the sounds, and this finally led to the adoption of the thin iron disk now in use, which is supported around its edge, and acts as both membrane and armature. Again, the form of the opening or mouth-piece in front of the membrane exercised considerable influence on the efficiency of the instrument, and it was ultimately ascertained that a small central opening, with a thin air space extending across the face of the membrane, was best.

It was also found that comparatively small magnets were sufficient, and that there was no particular virtue in the closed circuit and electromagnet, but that a small permanent magnet having one pole in contact with the end of the core of a short electromagnet, the coil of which was in circuit with the line, but which had no permanent current flowing through it, answered the purpose quite as well. In fact, the effect of keeping a permanent current flowing through the line, and the coils of the electromagnet was to

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keep the core of the electromagnet magnetized. This seems to have been almost simultaneously pointed out by Bell and others who were working in conjunction with him, and by Professor Dolbear.* Many experiments were made for ascertaining the best length of wire to use in the coil of the transmitting and the receiving instrument; but this is clearly a question dependent to a large extent on the nature of the line and the system of working adopted.

After Bell's success a large number of experimenters entered the field, and an almost endless variety of modifications have been described. But few possess any real merit, and almost none have any essentially new principles.

A telephone transmitter and a receiver on a novel plan were patented in July, 1877, by Edison, shortly after the introduction of Bell's instruments. The receiver was based on the change of friction produced by the passage of an electric current through the point of contact of certain substances in relative motion. In one form a drum, mounted on an axis and covered by a band of paper soaked in a solution of caustic potash, is turned under a spring, the end of which is in contact through a platinum point with the paper. The spring is attached to the center of a diaphragm in such a way that, when the drum is turned the friction between the point of the spring and the paper deflects the diaphragm. The current from the line is made to pass through the spring and paper to the cylinder.

* Amos E. Dolbear was born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1837. From 1874 until his death in 1910 he was professor of physics at Tufts College, near Boston.

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Now it had been previously shown by Edison that, when a current is made to pass through an arrangement like that just described, the friction between the paper and the spring is greatly diminished. Hence, when the undulating telephonic currents are made to pass through the apparatus, the constant variation of the friction of the spring causes the deflections of the diaphragm to vary in unison with the variation of the electric currents, and sounds are given out corresponding in pitch, and also to some extent in quality, with the sounds produced at the transmitting station. A cylinder of chalk was used in some of Edison's later experiments.

Experiments very similar to those of Edison were made by Elisha Gray, of Chicago, Illinois, and described by him in papers communicated to the American Electrical Society in 1875 and 1878. In these experiments the electric current passed through the fingers of the operator's hand, which thus took the place of the spring in Edison's apparatus. The diaphragm was itself used as the rubbing surface, and it was either mounted and rotated, or the fingers were moved over it. When the current passed, the friction was felt to increase, and the effect of sending a rapidly undulating current through the arrangement was to produce a sound. The application of this apparatus to the transmission of music is described by Gray.

On April 4, 1877, Mr. Emile Berliner⁴ filed a

⁴ Emile Berliner was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1851, and came to this country in 1870. Besides his transmitter he invented the talking-machine known as the Victor. His home is in Washington.

INVENTION OF THE TELEPHONE

caveat in the United States patent office, in which he stated that, on the principle of the variation with pressure of the resistance at the contact of two conductors, he had made an instrument which could be used as a telephone transmitter, and, that, in consequence of the mutual forces between the two parts of the current on the two sides of the point of contact, the instrument was capable of acting as a receiver. The caveat was illustrated by a sketch showing a diaphragm with a metal patch in the center, against which a metal knob was slightly prest by an adjusting screw. This seems to have been the first transmitter in which it was proposed to use the resistance at the contact of two conductors.

Almost simultaneously with Berliner, Edison conceived the idea of using a variable resistance transmitter. He proposed to introduce into the circuit a cell containing carbon powder, the pressure on which could be varied by the vibrations of a diaphragm. He sometimes held the carbon powder against the diaphragm in a small shallow cell (from a quarter to half an inch in diameter and about an eighth of an inch deep), and sometimes he used what he describes as a fluff, that is, a little brush of silk fiber with plumbago rubbed into it. In another form the plumbago powder was worked into a button cemented together with syrup and other substances.

EDISON'S ELECTRIC-LIGHT INVENTIONS

(1879)

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT¹

When it was known that Edison, whose genius had already enriched the world with many important applications of electricity—with duplex, quadruplex, and quite recently sextuplex telegraphy; with the electric pen; with some of the best forms of the telephone and its various modifications, as the microphone, the microtasimeter, the megaphone, the aerophone, the phonometer; with the phonograph—when it was reported in 1878 and 1879 that this indefatigable experimenter and versatile inventor had turned his attention to the problem of electric illumination, the public expected that his fertile and practical mind would succeed if it were possible in overcoming the minor but stubborn difficulties which yet stood in the way of electrical illumination. The confidence which was felt in his ability was shown by the fact that during the months in which he was engaged in studying this subject, newspaper rumors of the success or non-success of his laboratory studies made the prices of gas stock rise or fall on the Paris and London Exchanges. He commenced his experiments in September, 1878, and, after fifteen months of

¹ From an article in Appleton's "Annual Cyclopaedia" for 1879. By permission of D. Appleton & Company.

ELECTRIC-LIGHT INVENTIONS

research, in the latter part of December, 1879, he published the record of his investigations to the world, and gave a public trial of the elaborated result.

Divining that the practical electric light of moderate illuminating power could not be produced by the voltaic arc, to which recent experiments had been chiefly confined, and with which Jablochhoff, Serrin, Werdermann, and others had obtained remarkable results, but by the incandescence of some resistant material, he confined his attention to the substances of low conducting powers from which the incandescent light can be obtained. These are platinum, iridium, and like metals and alloys, which only fuse at an exceedingly high temperature, and the forms of carbon which possess a high degree of purity and homogeneity. His earlier experiments were expended upon metallic material.

Among the several circuit-closing regulators which he devised was one by which the heated air prest a diaphragm outward, closing and breaking the circuit so rapidly that no variation in the intensity of the light was observable. Another was a device by which the expansion of the luminous conductor itself was made to draw a rod upward, which actuated a circuit-closer through an arrangement of levers. Edison developed in the earlier stages of his investigations a novel kind of lamp, from which he obtained a very brilliant light by the incandescence of a piece of zircon to which the heat-rays of the incandescent platinum spiral were transmitted by reflection. The spiral of platinum and iridium was placed in the focus of an elliptic reflector of copper coated

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with gold, and the heat-rays were focalized upon a thin piece of zircon, which attained a degree of luminosity greatly exceeding that of the incandescent platinum.

Edison's experiments were necessarily directed mainly to the material to be rendered incandescent, and the form in which it would afford the best results. The brilliancy of the light depends upon the resistance which the incandescent conductor offers to the passage of the electric current. Expecting the best results from platinum, he found that the light was intensified by incorporating fine particles of this conducting agent in a nonconducting, incombustible, and nonfusible material, which was itself rendered luminous by the heat. By imbedding finely divided platinum in a nonconducting substance, he obtained a light from currents too weak to render the spiral luminous. A large spiral of platinum whose coils were coated and separated by magnesia produced a good light; it was with this form of lamp that he employed the regulator in which a metallic cup at the top of the coil pulled a rod upward, actuating a circuit-closing apparatus. Among the other materials upon which he experimented were the oxides of different metals. He obtained a fine light from iridosmine, a natural alloy of osmium and iridium, which he enclosed in a powdered state in a tube of zircon. He tried also a combination of platinum and carbon, the latter becoming highly incandescent as the current passed to it from the platinum rod, encountering a greater resistance.

Still considering platinum the most promising material, he was startled after a couple of months

ELECTRIC-LIGHT INVENTIONS

of experimentation by the discovery that the platinum degenerated, and that its incandescence was seriously affected through the action of the atmosphere. Plates and wires of platinum, and also of iridium and other metallic conductors whose point of fusion is at a very high temperature, he found, when heated while exposed to the atmosphere to a temperature near their melting point, by a current of electricity passing through them for a number of hours together, crack and break in innumerable places. These fissures are found under the microscope all over the surface of the metal, running in every direction, and sometimes penetrating to the center of the rod or wire. Holding platinum and alloys of platinum and iridium in the heat of a candle, he observed a loss of weight; and even when they are exposed to heated air there is a diminution of weight. The consumption is sufficient to cause a hydrogen jet to take on a greenish hue. The metal after a while becomes so fractured that it falls to pieces.

He thus perceived that the ordinary platinum or platinum and iridium, as sold in the market, is useless for his purpose, and also that the metal can not be employed for illumination by incandescence, as the cracks cause it gradually to deteriorate and eventually destroy it, while they greatly lessen the degree of incandescence of which its surface is capable. The knowledge of the cause of the disintegration of platinum suggested the remedy. Lodyguine, the Russian physicist, invented a carbon lamp in 1873, in which the cracking and wasting away of the carbon under incandescence, by the action of the

GREAT EPOCHS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

oxygen of the atmosphere, was obviated by enclosing the burner in a glass globe from which the air was exhausted. It was necessary to purify the platinum and enclose it in a vacuum to prevent its deterioration when heated to incandescence. Edison devised a method of producing a more perfect vacuum, and at the same time cleansing the platinum burner of all the air and other gases which it contains. A glass globe is connected by an aperture with a mercury air-pump, and the air exhausted. The wires connecting the spiral or other form of burner with the battery pass through holes in the glass which are fused together and hermetically sealed. After the air is exhausted from the glass the current is turned on, heating the platinum to a temperature of about 150 degrees Fahrenheit, at which point it is kept for from ten to fifteen minutes. The gases which issue from the platinum are carried away by the air-pump. The current is then increased until the temperature rises to 300 degrees, at which point it is kept again ten or fifteen minutes. It is thus raised by successive stages until the platinum attains a brilliant incandescence, and the glass about the aperture connecting with the mercury-pump melts with the heat and fuses together, hermetically sealing the vacuum.

The wires purified by this process are found to have a gloss and brightness greater than that of silver. Their light-giving power is increased in a remarkable ratio. The same burner which will give when new a light of only three candles, emits in the vacuum a light of twenty-five. Testing spirals which had been prepared and sealed

ELECTRIC-LIGHT INVENTIONS

in a glass vacuum in this manner by subjecting them to sudden currents of electricity which raised them to incandescence a great number of times, no cracks or breaks were discoverable, nor the slightest loss of weight. Wires of chemically pure iron and nickel were found to give a light in the vacuum equal to that of platinum exposed to the atmosphere; and carbon sticks, freed from air and inclosed in a vacuum in the same manner, may be heated until they become soft and plastic, and then regain their former consistency when cool again. Edison next tried the combination of platinum and iridium alloy with magnesia in the vacuum. He found that the oxide will unite with the metal, hardening it and rendering it more refractory to such a degree that a spiral so fine that it would melt without the coating of magnesia could be raised to a dazzling incandescence and remain quite elastic. Such a spiral, with a surface of only three-sixteenths of an inch, will give a light of forty candles. He next turned his attention to securing the greatest possible amount of resistance in the conductor. Instead of using lamps of only one or two ohms of resistance, he reached the conclusion that the light could be more economically produced from conductors having two hundred ohms of resistance or more.

The perfected form of the platinum lamp consists of a long coil of wire coated with magnesia, supported in a glass vacuum tube by a rod of platinum, the tube resting upon a metallic frame containing a regulating apparatus in a chamber within. The conducting wires pass through the bottom of the globe and into this chamber, where

GREAT EPOCHS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

the circuit can be instantaneously broken and closed again by the regulator. Around the vacuum tube is a glass globe resting upon the frame, with openings into an aneroid chamber below, whose bottom is a diaphragm which distends sufficiently when the air within the globe is heated to a certain degree to press a pin in its center downward against a straight spring, which rests with an upward pressure upon a metallic block, through which the current is transmitted through the spring to the wire which leads it to the incandescent spiral. When the contact between the spring and the block is broken, the flow of electricity is interrupted, to be restored again by the immediate cooling and contraction of the air in the globe and aneroid chamber, which is so instantaneous that no variation in the intensity of the light is perceptible. While bringing the platinum lamp to this high state of perfection, Edison set on foot inquiries regarding a larger supply of platinum; and the miners of the gold regions, incited by his advertisements, discovered such frequent indications of its presence that this exceedingly valuable metal may be expected to be produced in much larger quantities than the present supplies. The vacuum which Edison's method produced was much nearer perfect than had been before attained. One of the reasons for the want of success of lamps in which the light was produced by the incandescence of carbon in a vacuum was the impossibility of sufficiently exhausting the air in the glass chamber. By the present process it could be reduced to but little over one-millionth of an atmosphere.

The inventor thought that he had elaborated

ELECTRIC-LIGHT INVENTIONS

a lamp which embodied the best principles, and which was sure to prove a commercial success. He had introduced improvements in the electric machine by which the equivalent of about 90 per cent. of the power expended was returned in electricity. When he was nearly ready to give the lamp in this form to the world, he began, led partly by accident, to experiment with carbon, with results which induced him to alter his whole system and adopt a carbon instead of a metallic burner. A prominent cause for the failure of carbon burners had been the impossibility of obtaining a form of carbon sufficiently pure in substance and homogeneous and even in texture. Edison was encouraged to try new forms from obtaining a remarkably brilliant light in the vacuum by the incandescence of a piece of calcined cotton thread. He placed in the glass a thread of ordinary sewing-cotton, which had been placed in a groove between two blocks of iron and charred by long exposure in a furnace, exhausted the air, and sealed the tube. He then turned on the electrical current, and increased it until the most intense incandescence was obtained before the slight filament broke. Examining then the fragments under the microscope, he found that the fragile substance had hardened under the excessive heat, and that its surface had become smooth and glossy.

This led him into a long series of experiments with carbon. After carbonizing and testing a great variety of fibrous substances, he found that paper yielded the most satisfactory results. The burner on which he finally settled was made from Bristol cardboard in the form of a tiny horseshoe.

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Strips about two inches long and an eighth of an inch wide, curved in the shape of an elongated horseshoe, are struck from a sheet of cardboard, and a number of them laid one upon another, with pieces of tissue-paper between, in an iron mold; this is tightly closed and placed in an oven, which is gradually raised to a temperature of 600 degrees; the mold is next placed in a furnace and allowed to come to a white heat, and then removed and left to cool. The carbonized paper horseshoe is then taken out with the utmost care, mounted in a diminutive glass globe, and connected with the wires. The air is then pumped out and the glass hermetically closed. The form of the lamp is a small bulb-shaped glass vacuum, globular above, with an elongated end resting upon a standard, through which the wires leading to and from the generator pass, connecting with thin platinum wires, which penetrate the thick end of the glass; to these the carbon burner is attached by clasps made from the same metal. No regulating apparatus is attached to the lamp, as the current can be regulated at the central station where the electricity is generated.

The inventor has developed a method by which the currents can be cut off from any of the lamps and the lights extinguished, without affecting the supply of electricity to those which are left burning. He proposes to supply the electricity in cities for lighting the houses and public places from stations in which a number of electric machines adequate for supplying an area of about a third of a square mile are driven by one or two powerful steam-engines. Each generator is capable of supplying about fifty burners.

THE RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS

(1879)

THE "LEGAL TENDER" ISSUES OF WAR TIMES AND THE RESUMPTION ACT¹

The balance in the Treasury on December 30, 1860, subject to the warrant of the Secretary, was \$2,078,257. During the calendar year 1861, the net receipts of the treasury from all sources were \$218,224,077.64, as against \$59,217,030.19 for the previous year; but the expenditures had increased in a still greater ratio, and in January, 1862, the Treasury was unable to answer the requisitions upon it for disbursements. Additional resources to carry on the Government became imperative, but no coin was left in the country for which to sell a loan. Of the depreciated bank currency there was believed to be then in existence only about \$150,000,000, and this with the \$60,000,000 of Treasury notes made the entire circulation of the country only \$210,000,000; and to collect these notes together for public disbursement, scattered as they were throughout the country, would be almost as hopeless a task as to issue a loan for coin and bring back to the country the metallic currency which had gone abroad to pay foreign indebtedness.

¹ From an article in Appleton's "Annual Cyclopaedia" for 1879. By permission of D. Appleton & Company.

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To meet this emergency, and with a view of utilizing all the resources of the country, Congress, by act approved February 25, 1862, authorized the issue of \$150,000,000 of notes, not bearing interest, payable at the Treasury of the United States, and of such denominations as the Secretary of the Treasury might deem expedient, not less than five dollars each. Of this amount \$60,000,000 were for the redemption of the notes of July 17 and August 5, 1861. . . .

Later in the same session, by act approved March 17, 1862, Congress declared the outstanding notes of July 17 and February 12, 1862, to be a legal tender in like manner, for the same purposes and to the same extent, as the notes authorized by the act of February 25, 1862. Still later, by act of July 11, 1862, Congress authorized an additional issue of \$150,000,000 of notes of similar character, and, like those already issued, exchangeable for bonds; and also provided that the Secretary might receive and cancel any notes heretofore issued, and in lieu thereof issue an equal amount of notes authorized by this act. The act also provided that not less than \$50,000,000 of these notes should be reserved for the payment of certain deposits, to be used only when, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, the same or any part thereof might be needed for that purpose. By act of July 17th following Congress authorized the issue of postage and revenue stamps for use as fractional currency, preferring this expedient to metallic coins or tokens reduced in value below the existing standard, making them receivable in payment of all dues to the United States under five dollars, and

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exchangeable for United States notes when presented in sums of not less than five dollars.

Under these several acts a total circulation of \$250,000,000 could be issued, and in an improbable contingency \$50,000,000 more; also a supply of fractional currency. These issues, together with the issues of bonds, relieved the Treasury from its embarrassment, and on the 1st of July, 1862, not a requisition upon the Treasury from any department remained unhonored.

The military reverses of June, July, and August of that year, however, injuriously affected the financial condition of the country, and Congress, by act of March 3, 1863, authorized, among other measures, an additional issue of \$150,000,000 of notes having substantially the same qualities and restrictions as those theretofore issued, and provided that in lieu of any other United States notes returned to the Treasury and destroyed there might be issued an equal amount of notes authorized by this act. It also provided that holders of United States notes, issued under and by virtue of the several acts heretofore cited, must present them for the purpose of exchanging them for bonds on or before the 1st day of July, 1863, and that thereafter the right to thus exchange them should cease and determine. The same act also provided that in lieu of the postage and revenue stamps authorized for use as fractional currency, commonly called postal currency, there might be issued fractional notes of like amounts and in such form as might be deemed expedient; the whole amount of fractional currency issued, including postage and revenue stamps, not to exceed \$50,000,000. Under these

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several acts there could be issued of legal-tender notes \$450,000,000, and of fractional currency \$50,000,000. No additional issue of notes was thereafter authorized.

The issue of Treasury notes by the Government was no new departure, but the notes issued under the several acts above stated bore certain qualities not given to any issued prior to 1861. They were declared by law to be lawful money and a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except for duties on imports and interest on the public debt, and they were convertible into interest-bearing bonds. Their convertible property, however, ceased to exist on the 1st of July, 1863, and since that date the Government has had for the first time in its history a national currency of its own notes—notes not convertible into other obligations and not redeemable at any specified time or place. These notes were both a loan to the Government and a national currency. The only justification attempted for their issue was that it was a war measure, one of necessity, not choice; and the notes were not expected to survive the exigencies which caused their issue. It proved, however, a most important measure. For, right or wrong, the employment of these notes as a legal-tender currency has exerted a most powerful and decisive influence over the property and material interests of every individual in the United States, and has become a tremendous factor in every problem, political, social, or economical.

The notes were first issued April 1, 1862, and their issue gradually increased in amount until January 30, 1864, on which day there were out-

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS

standing \$449,338,902, the highest point reached. By act approved June 30, 1864, Congress directed that the total amount of United States notes issued or to be issued should never exceed \$400,000,000, and such additional sum, not exceeding \$50,000,000, as might be temporarily required for the redemption of temporary loans. Despite this restriction as to the amount of the notes which could be issued, and the extraordinary properties with which they were endowed, their value depreciated until on July 11, 1864, they were worth but 35 cents on a dollar, and their value fluctuated from day to day, unsettling prices of commodities, stimulating speculation, and creating distrust and apprehension in all business circles. A retirement of the amount in excess of four hundred millions was gradually made, in conformity with the law and a generally approved policy of retiring the notes as rapidly as practicable.

Secretary McCulloch, in his annual report for 1865, expressed his opinion that the legal-tender acts were war measures passed in a great emergency; that they should be regarded only as temporary; that they ought not to remain in force a day longer than was necessary to enable the people to prepare for a return to the gold standard; and that the work of retiring the notes which had been issued should be commenced without delay, and carefully and persistently continued until all were retired. . . .

There was a general feeling throughout the country that specie resumption should be kept in view, and on March 18, 1869, an act of Congress "to strengthen the public credit" was approved.

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In this act the faith of the United States was solemnly pledged to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the notes in coin. No further change was made in the amount of outstanding notes, nor any further legislation had in regard to them, until January 14, 1875.

An act then provided—first, for the manufacture and issue of subsidiary silver coins in redemption of the outstanding fractional paper notes; second, for an unlimited issue of national banknotes, with a provision for the retirement of legal-tender notes to the extent of 80 per cent. of such issue, until the amount of legal-tender notes outstanding should be reduced to three hundred millions; and, third, for the redemption in coin of the legal-tender notes, on presentation in sums of fifty dollars and upward at the Sub-Treasury in New York on and after January 1, 1879. To carry out the purposes of this act, ample authority was given the Secretary of the Treasury to apply all surplus revenues of the Government, and also to issue at par in coin an unlimited amount of bonds of the description authorized by the refunding act. . . .

Under the clause of the act authorizing the redemption of legal-tender notes in the amount of 80 per cent. of national bank-notes thereafter issued, the Treasury began to redeem notes in March, 1875, and continued to do so until May 31, 1878, on which date an act was approved forbidding their further redemption. There was thus redeemed of these notes an amount of \$35,318,984, leaving outstanding to be redeemed in coin under other provisions of the resumption act

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\$346,681,016. The cash in the Treasury was, of course, lessened in the amount of this redemption, and the loss was made up by the surplus revenues, which would otherwise have been applicable to the redemption of some other kind of indebtedness. . . .

The preparations were so complete that on January 1, 1879, the date when resumption took effect, the treasurer held of gold coin and bullion \$135,382,639.42; of standard silver dollars coined under the act of February 28, 1878, \$16,704,829; and of fractional silver coin, including silver bullion, \$15,471,265.27. The amount of coin held by the Treasury as available for resumption purposes on that day, after deducting all matured coin liabilities, was about \$135,000,000, or about 40 per cent. of the amount of notes to be redeemed. The thoroughness of preparation for resumption had quieted all apprehensions as to the success of the policy, and on the first day of resumption only straggling demands for coin were made, the amount aggregating less than the amount of notes preferred by the holders of coin obligations. And during the entire year there were redeemed of the legal-tender notes only the amount of \$11,456,536; while for the same period there were paid out of such notes on account of coin obligations more than \$250,000,000. There were also received of such notes in payment of customs dues in the year ending December 31, 1879, \$109,467,456.

Thus, after much labor and sacrifice, the country was lifted out of the financial bog of depreciated paper currency, and with the resumption thus happily secured came a revival of business, an extraordinary demand for labor of all kinds,

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and a confirmation of that confidence which was so necessary for all business enterprises, and which had grown step by step with every movement made toward a specie basis.

The following table shows the market price, in coin, of \$100 of the legal-tender notes of the United States for January and July of each year from 1862 to 1879 inclusive—mean of highest and lowest in each month specified:

| YEARS | Month | | YEARS | Month | |
|-----------|---------|------|-----------|---------|-------|
| | January | July | | January | July |
| 1862..... | 97.6 | 86.6 | 1871..... | 90.3 | 89.0 |
| 1863..... | 68.9 | 76.6 | 1872..... | 91.7 | 87.5 |
| 1864..... | 64.3 | 88.7 | 1873..... | 88.7 | 86.4 |
| 1865..... | 46.3 | 70.4 | 1874..... | 89.7 | 91.0 |
| 1866..... | 71.4 | 66.0 | 1875..... | 88.9 | 87.2 |
| 1867..... | 74.3 | 71.7 | 1876..... | 88.6 | 89.4 |
| 1868..... | 72.2 | 70.1 | 1877..... | 94.0 | 94.9 |
| 1869..... | 73.7 | 73.5 | 1878..... | 97.9 | 99.5 |
| 1870..... | 82.4 | 85.6 | 1879..... | 100.0 | 100.0 |

During the year 1879 coin flowed into the Treasury, while but little demand was made for its payment therefrom; so little, indeed, that the Treasury became drained of its notes, and in December it was obliged to require its creditors to receive in part payment of their dues 20 per cent. in coin—one-half in gold coin, the other half in the new silver dollars.

THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD

(1881)

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT¹

On the morning of July 2d, the President set out from the Executive Mansion with Secretary Blaine for the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad station, where he was to join several members of the Cabinet for a trip to New York and New England, including visits to Williams College and the White Mountains. The two entered the station arm in arm, and while they were passing through the ladies' waiting-room two pistol-shots were heard in quick succession, one of which took effect in the President's back. He sank to the floor, bleeding profusely, and for a moment was unconscious, and then was affected with vomiting. To get him out of the confusion he was carried to the offices of the company, on the second floor. Several physicians were summoned, and, after a superficial examination of the wound, the President was taken back to the Executive Mansion. The result of their first careful examination was the opinion that the bullet had penetrated or grazed the liver, and had lodged in the front wall of the abdomen. They believed that the injury was not necessarily fatal, but concluded that it was not advisable to attempt the removal of the bullet. . . .

¹ From Appleton's "Annual Cyclopaedia" for 1881. By permission of D. Appleton & Company.

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The person who had fired the pistol at the railroad station had been promptly seized and taken into custody. He proved to be Charles J. Guiteau, who had been a persistent but unsuccessful applicant for an appointment, first as minister to Austria, and then as consul-general to Paris. He describes himself as a lawyer, a politician, and a theologian, and is reported to have said, on being taken into custody: "All right, I did it, and will go to jail for it. I am a Stalwart, and Arthur will be President." A letter was found on his person in which the death of the President was spoken of as a "sad necessity" that would "unite the Republican party and save the Republic." Guiteau was lodged in the District of Columbia jail, to await the result of the President's wound.

The news of the attempted assassination created intense excitement throughout the country, and it was considered in some quarters as an indirect result of the political system that encouraged unregulated office-seeking and occasioned many disappointments, and to the quarrel between the so-called "Stalwarts" and Administration Republicans, which had originated in the controversy over appointments in the State of New York. There was an almost universal outbreak of sorrow and indignation at the crime, and sympathy for the sufferer and his family, and this found expression in the action of numerous public bodies and political assemblies, of both parties, and in all sections of the country. It extended to foreign lands, and brought forth many official and unofficial expressions of sympathy.

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After the first shock had passed, the announcement that the wound was not necessarily fatal, and that there was a chance of recovery, gave rise to a hopeful feeling, which increased with daily reports of favorable progress. As early as the 10th of July Governor Foster, of Ohio, suggested to the Governors of all the States the appointment of a general day of thanksgiving for the President's escape from death, and the prospect of his speedy recovery. In several States this suggestion was acted on. The favorable reports continued for some days, and the President's recovery was confidently predicted by the surgeons in attendance. They concluded that no important organ had been injured, and that the bullet was likely to become encysted and harmless, or might possibly declare its presence in a way that would admit of its successful removal.

The first check in the favorable symptoms was on the 18th of July, and was followed by an apparent resumption of progress. The first serious relapse occurred on the 23d of July, being attended with chills and more or less of fever. The bullet had entered between the eleventh and twelfth ribs, about four inches to the right of the spinal column, the assassin standing about six feet behind and a little to the right of his victim, and the bones had been somewhat splintered. The diagnosis assumed that there had been a deflection which sent the bullet downward and to the right. The probing and treatment of the wound had followed this supposed course, where there was by this time a channel several inches in depth. The unfavorable symptoms were caused by obstruction in the flow of pus, and on

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the morning of the 24th an incision was made to give a freer passage from the supposed track of the wound. This was followed by relief and a resumption of hopeful reports. On the 28th there was a slight recurrence of fever, and day by day thereafter there was more or less of febrile rise in the temperature and pulse, attended with abnormal respiration.

The heat of the season aggravated the difficulty of dealing with the case, and artificial means of cooling the atmosphere of the Executive Mansion were resorted to. Large quantities of ice were placed in the cellar, over which air was passed and then admitted to the sick-room by means of an apparatus specially devised for the purpose. The case was also believed to be more or less complicated by malarial influences prevailing in and about the White House.

Favorable reports continued during the first days of August, and plans were discust for removing the patient to the Soldiers' Home. On the 6th unfavorable symptoms were reported as the effect of the heat, and on the following day they were declared to be more serious, and attributed to further obstruction of pus in the wound. A new incision was made, this time below the rib, giving another and freer outlet from the assumed track of the wound. Relief and renewed progress were announced as the result, but there seemed to be no satisfactory evidence of healing. On the 10th the President, for the first time since the shooting, signed an official document, presented for the purpose by the Secretary of State, being one of the papers in an extradition case pending with Canada.

THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD

About this time there was considerable discussion as to the correctness of the medical treatment, and also as to the propriety of leaving the Executive Department of the Government without an active head, some maintaining that the exigency existed under which the Constitution provided for the devolving of the powers and duties of the presidential office on the Vice-President on account of "inability."

After the 10th of August the reports from the sufferer were less hopeful, and unfavorable symptoms declared themselves on the 13th. On the 15th the patient was admitted to be in a precarious condition. His pulse went to 130, and he was affected with "rigors" and vomiting. Thereafter the stomach was continually troublesome, and much of the time nutriment and stimulants were administered by injection. There was an apparent recovery from the relapse of the 15th, and hope was still cherished. On the 18th inflammation of the right parotid gland was announced, which increased until an incision was made in it on the 24th. The condition of the patient was fluctuating during these days, and he began to express a strong desire to be removed from Washington. On the 25th his condition became critical, and on the day following fears of a fatal ending of all hope were entertained throughout the country. There were, however, slight indications of improvement on the 27th, which increased until by the 30th there was a renewal of hopeful announcements. On the 1st of September the question of removal was taken up again, and the gastric disturbance returning on the 4th, it was decided to take the patient to

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Long Branch, in accordance with his own earnest desire. The journey to Long Branch was made on the 6th of September. The rate of speed was at times as high as sixty miles an hour; few stops were made, and Long Branch was reached at 1 o'clock—3,500 feet of railroad track having been laid specially to convey the train from the regular station to the immediate vicinity of the Franklyn Cottage, at Elberon. . . .

The President showed signs of gratification at the change, but there was no immediate evidence of improvement. For two or three days the reports were hopeful, but bronchial trouble was developing, and threatening the lungs. From the 11th to the 15th the reports were fluctuating and rather dispiriting. The patient was placed for a few hours each day in a reclining-chair where he could gaze from the window of the cottage upon the sea. On the 16th there was a serious relapse, with marked symptoms of blood-poisoning, including severe chills, fever, and inability to retain anything in the stomach. The last day (September 19th), is thus described by Dr. Bliss:

"At 10:10 P.M. I was summoned hastily to the bedside, and found the President in an unconscious and dying condition, pulseless at the wrist, with extreme pallor, the eyes opened and turned upward, and respiration 8 per minute, and gasping. Placing my finger upon the carotid, I could not recognize pulsation; applying my ear over the heart, I detected an indistinct flutter, which continued until 10:35, when he expired. The brave and heroic sufferer, the nation's patient, for whom all had labored so cheerfully and unceasingly, had passed away."

THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD

Death was preceded by a severe pain at the heart, and the President's last words were, "O, Swaim!" The announcement of his demise evoked expressions of universal grief, not only throughout this country but from the principal cities of the Old World. Messages of condolence came from representatives of authority abroad as well as at home, and from many private and unofficial sources. An autopsy of the body was made on the afternoon of September 20th, Dr. D. S. Lamb, of the Medical Museum at Washington, handling the knife, and all the physicians who had taken part in the case, as well as Dr. Andrew H. Smith, of Elberon, being present. The result showed that the diagnosis of the wound, so far as it concerned the course of the bullet, had been mistaken from the start. The following is from the official announcement of the result of the autopsy:

"It was found that the ball, after fracturing the right eleventh rib, had passed through the spinal column in front of the spinal canal, fracturing the body of the first lumbar vertebra, driving a number of small fragments of bone into the adjacent soft parts, and lodging below the pancreas, about two inches and a half to the left of the spine, and behind the peritoneum, where it had become completely encysted. The immediate cause of death was secondary hemorrhage from one of the mesenteric arteries adjoining the track of the ball, the blood rupturing the peritoneum, and nearly a pint escaping into the abdominal cavity. This hemorrhage is believed to have been the cause of the severe pain in the lower part of the chest complained of

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just before death. An abscess cavity, six inches by four in dimensions, was found in the vicinity of the gall-bladder, between the liver and the transverse colon, which were strongly adherent. It did not involve the substance of the liver, and no communication was found between it and the wound. A long, suppurating channel extended from the external wound between the loin-muscles and the right kidney almost to the right groin. This channel, now known to be due to the burrowing of pus from the wound, was supposed during life to have been the track of the ball. On an examination of the organs of the chest evidences of severe bronchitis were found on both sides, with bronchopneumonia of the lower portions of the right lung, and, tho to a much less extent, of the left. The lungs contained no abscesses and the heart no clots. The liver was enlarged and fatty, but free from abscesses. Nor were any found on any other organ, except the left kidney, which contained near its surface a small abscess about one-third of an inch in diameter." . . .

There was considerable lay and professional discussion of the medical treatment, the general conclusion being that, aside from the mistaken diagnosis, the wound was necessarily mortal, and it is doubtful if anything more could have been done to mitigate the sufferings of the patient.

After brief religious ceremonies at 10 o'clock on the 21st, the body was borne by special train from Long Branch, and, passing silent and reverent crowds at every station, reached Washington at about 4:30, where it was received by an imposing funeral escort and taken to the Capitol.

THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD

It was laid in state under the great dome, previous to being taken to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial. It was exposed to view during the 22d, and crowds of people passed through the rotunda to look upon the face of the deceased. Meantime, preparations were made in Cleveland for receiving the remains, and there the principal obsequies were to take place. On the afternoon of the 23d, after impressive ceremonies in the rotunda of the Capitol, the coffin was borne to the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, and the funeral train started a little after 5 o'clock. Official representatives of the various departments of the Government, of most of the States, and many municipal corporations, accompanied or followed the remains. The train, heavily draped with mourning emblems, entered Cleveland at 1:20 o'clock P.M., on the 24th, and the body was placed in state on a catafalque beneath a pavilion erected for the purpose in the center of Monumental Park. The procession included a military and civic pageant of unusual proportions.

The day of the funeral, September 26th, was observed throughout the country as an occasion of general mourning, in response to a proclamation of President Arthur, which had been supplemented in many of the States by the recommendations of their Governors. There was a general suspension of business, a draping of public and private buildings, and religious services in many churches. The day was also extensively observed in Europe, and for the first time mourning was ordered in court circles in behalf of an official of a republic.

THE BLAINE-CLEVELAND CAMPAIGN

(1884)

BY HARRY THURSTON PECK¹

The nomination of Mr. Blaine produced an indescribable sensation throughout the length and breadth of the United States. No American statesman had ever had more ardent and intensely loyal friends than he, as none had ever had more violent and bitter enemies. The former hailed his candidacy with intense enthusiasm; the latter began at once moving heaven and earth to compass his defeat.

Mr. Blaine had already enjoyed a remarkable career. Born in Pennsylvania of Scotch-Irish parentage, he had been by turns a teacher and an editor, having taken up in 1854 his residence in Maine. In 1858 he had entered the State Legislature, where for two years he served as Speaker. In 1862 he was sent to Congress, and at once made his mark by his readiness in debate, his quick grasp upon political principles, and his exceptional fertility in resource. He had the impetuosity of the Celt and the clear reasoning brain of the Anglo-Saxon, besides that indescribable quality which, for want of a better name, is known as magnetism. His personal

¹ From Peck's "Twenty Years of the Republic," (1885-1905). By permission of the publishers, Dodd, Mead & Company. Copyright, 1900.

THE BLAINE-CLEVELAND CAMPAIGN

charm was indeed remarkable, and it was to this as much as to his other gifts that he owed the extraordinary devotion of his followers and friends. Early in his political life he had been compared to Henry Clay, to whose career his own was to exhibit a striking parallel. At first he was better known to his associates in Congress than to the country as a whole; but when, in 1869, he was elected Speaker of the House, he rose at once to the rank of a great party leader.

But the fierce white light which beats upon a throne is no more fierce than that which beats upon a Presidential aspirant. It was turned at once upon Mr. Blaine's whole past career. Every incident and every act of his were now subjected to minute investigation by his enemies and rivals. A dozen stories grew until they filled the minds of every one about him. It was said that Mr. Blaine had pledged a number of worthless railroad bonds to the Union Pacific Railway Company in return for a loan of \$64,000 which had never been repaid. It was also charged that without consideration he had received bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. . . .

These reports obtained so widespread a currency that Mr. Blaine was forced to rise in his place and bring the matter to the attention of the House. He read a letter from the treasurer of the Union Pacific and from Colonel Thomas A. Scott, the president of that railway, denying the story of the worthless bonds. He read another letter from Morton, Bliss & Company, who were alleged to have cashed the draft for \$64,000, mentioned in the story, but who now declared that no such draft had been presented to them.

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Mr. Blaine went on to say that he had never owned the Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds which he was said to have received without any consideration. Apparently his name was cleared.

The time for the National Republican Convention was drawing near. Many States had already instructed their delegates to support his candidacy. That he should be the subject of an investigation for corrupt transactions while his name was before the convention would be fatal to his chances; and he desired above all things to stave it off. Nevertheless, the House, which was strongly Democratic, ordered its Judiciary Committee to make such an investigation, tho in the resolution ordering it, Mr. Blaine was not specifically named. This was on May 2d; and at the first sessions of the committee the evidence was corroborative of Mr. Blaine's assertions.

On May 31st there was brought before the committee a man named James Mulligan. Mulligan had at one time been a clerk for Mr. Jacob Stanwood (the brother of Mrs. Blaine), and later a bookkeeper for Warren Fisher, Jr., a business man of Boston, who had had close relations with the management of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. While Mr. Mulligan was testifying, he chanced to mention very quietly that he had in his possession certain letters written by Mr. Blaine to Warren Fisher, Jr. Mr. Blaine asked a friend on the committee to move an immediate adjournment. The committee rose, to meet again the following morning. When it so met it listened to a most extraordinary story.

During the brief respite given by the adjourn-

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ment of the committee, Mr. Blaine had flashed his mind over all the possibilities of the situation. He knew that Mulligan had letters, which, if made public by Mulligan himself, would be interpreted by every one in a sense extremely unfavorable to Mr. Blaine. He knew that these letters would surely be asked for by the committee so soon as it should reconvene in the morning. To prevent this and to gain time he must act at once. He therefore went to the Riggs House, where Mulligan was staying, and met Mulligan, Fisher, and one Atkins. There he first asked to see the letters which Mulligan had with him. . . .

On June 5th, Mr. Blaine rose in the House of Representatives and claimed the floor on a question of privilege. Throughout this animated and even fiery justification of his right, the crowded House had listened in breathless silence, and with a tension of feeling which could almost be felt. There was abundant sympathy with Mr. Blaine. Even his adversaries were sorry for him. He seemed like a man driven into a corner and fighting for his very life. After a brief pause, Mr. Blaine dealt a master-stroke which he had planned with consummate art, and which he now delivered with a dramatic power that was thrilling. Raising his voice and holding up a packet, he went on:

"I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God Almighty, I am not afraid to show them! There they are. There is the very original package. And, with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification that I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man

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in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters from this desk."

The tension was broken. The whole assembly burst out into frantic and prolonged applause. Then Mr. Blaine read the letters, one by one, with comments and explanations of his own. Having done so, he faced one of the Democratic members of the committee, Mr. Proctor Knott, and in the course of a rapid dialogue brought out the fact that Mr. Knott had received a cablegram from a Mr. Caldwell, whose knowledge of the whole affair was very intimate, and that Mr. Knott had apparently suppress it. The scene at the end of this exciting parliamentary duel baffled all description. The House went mad; and for fifteen minutes there reigned a pandemonium amid which the Speaker was helpless in his efforts to restore even a semblance of order. Mr. Blaine, for the moment, had won a brilliant triumph. He had restored and strengthened the faith of all his followers and had turned apparently inevitable disaster into victory. . . .

The famous Mulligan letters sufficed to prevent Mr. Blaine's nomination for the Presidency in 1876 and 1880, and now, in 1884, from the outset of his candidacy, were printed and scattered broadcast over the country by his political opponents. . . .

The Democratic candidate against whom Mr. Blaine had now to make his fight was a man of a wholly antithetical type. Mr. Cleveland was in no respect a brilliant man. The son of a clergyman, and early left to make his own way in the world, he had, like his rival, been a teach-

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er, and had later taken up the practise of the law in Buffalo. There he had held some minor public offices. In 1863 he was Assistant District-Attorney for the county, and from 1870 to 1873 he had served as Sheriff. He first attracted attention outside of his own city when, in 1881, he was elected Mayor of Buffalo by a combination of Democrats and independents. In this office he instituted reforms and defeated various corrupt combinations, while his liberal use of the veto power maintained a wise economy. In 1882 he had received the Democratic nomination for the governorship of New York, and had been elected by the remarkable plurality of 192,000 votes.

Mr. Cleveland was a type of man such as had not before come to the front as a Presidential possibility. He represented the practical, everyday, usual citizen of moderate means, and no very marked ambitions—a combination of the business man and the unimportant professional person, blunt, hardheaded, brusque, and unimaginative, and with a readiness to take a hand in whatever might be going on. His education was of the simplest, his general information presumably not very large; and his interest in life was almost wholly bounded by the limits of his own locality. As a practising lawyer he was well thought of; yet his reputation had not gone much beyond the local circuit. A bachelor, he had no need of a large income. His spare time was spent with companions of his own tastes. His ideal of recreation was satisfied by a quiet game of pinochle in the back-room of a respectable beer-garden; and perhaps this circumstance

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in itself is sufficient to give a fair notion of his general environment. He was, indeed, emphatically a man's man—*homo inter homines*—careless of mere forms, blunt of speech, and somewhat primitive in his tastes.

But he had all the virile attributes of a Puritan ancestry. His will was inflexible. His force of character was extraordinary. He hated shams, believed that a thing was either right or wrong, and when he had made up his mind to any course of action, he carried it through without so much as a moment's wavering. So great was the confidence which his character inspired, that when a committee of the independent voters of Buffalo called upon him for the purpose of urging him to stand for the mayoralty, they asked him for no written pledges, but accepted his simple statement as an adequate guarantee. "Cleveland says that if elected he will do so-and-so," they told the people. And the people elected him, because they knew his word to be inviolable.

As Governor, Mr. Cleveland entered upon a wider field and one that must have seemed at first a place of limitless exactions. But his lack of imagination stood him in good stead. He bent his back to the burden and did each day's work as it came. A stranger to large responsibilities, and retaining much of the narrowness of the provincial business man, he viewed all questions as equally important, attending personally to all his correspondence, looking for himself into every item and detail of executive business, and giving hours of time each day to minutia which the merest clerk could have cared for with quite as much efficiency. This, however, was only one

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manifestation of the conscientiousness that showed itself far more commendably in higher matters. The rough, blunt independence of the man made him indifferent to the insidious influences that rise like a malarial mist about the possessor of high political office.

Subtleties of suggestion were lost on this brusque novice, and anything more pointed than suggestion roused in him a cross-grained spirit that brooked no guidance or control. He forged ahead in his own way with a sort of bull-necked stubbornness, but with a power and energy which smoother politicians were compelled to recognize as very real. He cared nothing for popularity. He vetoed a bill requiring the street railways to reduce their fares, thereby offending thousands. He followed it up by a veto of another bill which granted public money to sectarian schools; and in consequence he estranged great masses of his Catholic supporters. He defied the Tammany leaders in the Legislature, and made still more powerful enemies. . . . In the end, his record as Governor of New York secured for him the nomination for the Presidency. Against the brilliant, subtle, and magnetic Blaine was pitted the plodding, incorruptible, courageous Cleveland.

The campaign opened immediately after the two candidates had been nominated. Those Republicans who were opposed to Mr. Blaine formed an organization at a conference held in New York on July 22d, and prepared an address which was issued on the 30th by the so-called National Committee of Republicans and independents, of which George William Curtis was the chairman, and George Walton Green the secretary. At once

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the movement assumed formidable proportions, and it was seen that thousands of Republicans were rallying to Cleveland, not because they had given up their party, but because they could not tolerate their party's candidate. Among them were men who had been identified with the Republican party from its earliest years—Henry Ward Beecher, William Everett, George Ticknor Curtis, Carl Schurz, and James Freeman Clarke. These Independents received the popular name of "Mugwumps," a word which, having been first employed in a semi-political sense by the Indianapolis *Sentinel* in 1872, gained its popular currency through the New York *Sun*, which began using it on March 23, 1884. These "Mugwumps," or political purists, had been described by Mr. Blaine four years earlier in a letter to General Garfield, in which he said: "They are noisy but not numerous; pharisaical but not practical; ambitious but not wise; pretentious but not powerful." This sentence was extremely characteristic of the man who wrote it. . . .

As the campaign proceeded, its tone became almost frantic. Those who clung loyally to Mr. Blaine did so with a passionate intensity that made them quite incapable of reasoning. The attacks on Mr. Cleveland had filled his followers with bitterest resentment. . . .

Political discussion, indeed, rapidly degenerated into personal abuse. Even the cartoonists of the different parties showed none of the humor which is usually to be found in the pictorial history of a campaign. Some of the caricatures were frightful in their malignity. . . .

Late in October it became evident that the

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vote of New York would decide the result of the election; and both parties concentrated upon that State their intensest energies. Mr. Cleveland as Governor had, as already described, offended the labor vote, the Roman Catholics, and Tammany Hall—three immensely powerful elements. Mr. Blaine, on the other hand, because of his Irish descent, his Catholic mother, and his profest sympathies with the cause of Ireland and the so-called Irish “patriots,” was strong precisely where Cleveland was known to be most vulnerable. Yet in New York Mr. Blaine had made one venomous and implacable enemy. This was Roscoe Conkling, with whom, so far back as 1866, there had been established something like a personal feud. The two men had always been temperamentally antipathetic. Conkling was overbearing, proud of his personal appearance, and bore himself with a swagger which impressed the galleries of the House, but which was offensive even to many of his own party associates. . . .

It was Conkling who aided in preventing Blaine’s nomination in 1876 and in 1880. It was Blaine, who, as Garfield’s Secretary of State, urged the President to defy the New York Senator and indirectly to secure his retirement into private life. Now it was Conkling’s turn again, and he meant to feed his resentment to the full. His power in New York was great, and the Republican managers could do nothing with him.

Blaine, therefore, took the stump himself and went about speaking to great crowds, and endeavoring to win them by that eloquence and charm of manner which had made him famous. He was, however, no longer the indomitable po-

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litical gladiator of past years. The strain of the conflict had told on him severely. Tho he let it be known to few, he was acutely sensitive to the attacks that were made upon him so unscrupulously and often so brutally. He suffered even when he seemed externally serene. Moreover, his fellow candidate, General Logan, was not at all the associate whom Mr. Blaine would personally have chosen. Logan represented the opposing or "Stalwart" faction of the Republican party, and was in sympathy with Conkling and his friends. . . .

Mr. Blaine had also well-nigh reached the point of physical exhaustion. His health was already undermined. His vitality was failing. As he was dragged about from place to place, stared at by mobs, having always to appear affable and interested while haunted by a premonition of disaster, he almost experienced physical collapse. The acuteness of his mind must likewise have been somewhat dulled; for when, on October 29th, a few days before the election, he received at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City a number of clergymen, he failed to notice a remark of one of them who made a brief address. This clergyman was the Rev. Dr. Samuel D. Burchard, who closed his speech with the following sentence: "We are Republicans, and we do not propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party of Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion!"

These last words, so blazingly indiscreet when publicly address to a candidate who hoped to carry the pivotal State of New York by the aid of Catholic voters, were heard by Mr. Blaine, but

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their significance was not instantly appreciated. As he afterward told his friends in private conversation, he was at the moment preoccupied in thinking over the answer which he was to make. He therefore took no notice of Dr. Burchard's peroration, tho it must have been personally offensive to him as the son of a Catholic mother. He had, besides, himself just returned from visiting his sister, who was the Mother Superior of a convent in Indiana.

Yet it was only after the delegation had withdrawn that he fully realized the serious blunder that he had made. He took immediate steps to suppress the word "Romanism" in the reports that were to appear in friendly newspapers. But it was too late. The Horatian maxim, *Volat irrevocabile verbum*, was to find a striking illustration of its truth. In less than twenty-four hours every Democratic paper in the country had spread before its readers the Burchard alliteration. Every Catholic voter in the State had read it upon handbills, and had been told that Mr. Blaine had allowed a slur upon his own mother's faith to pass unrebuked. . . .

Still, the result seemed doubtful. Tammany Hall had not yet been won over. Its leader was John Kelly, a rough and ready politician, but an honest man, according to his lights. He had opposed Mr. Cleveland's nomination, pronouncing him no Democrat, and declaring that if elected he would prove a traitor to the party. Kelly held in his control the vote of Tammany Hall; and, as a last resort, Mr. Hendricks was summoned from Indiana to exert his influence. He made the journey of a thousand miles and conferred with Kelly

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until a late hour of the night. Hendricks was a party man of the straitest type, an old-time Democrat of the Middle West. He carried his point, and Kelly promised that for Hendricks's sake the Tammany vote should be cast for the party ticket.

Then came the day of the election on November 4th. Early on the following morning it was known that Cleveland had carried all the Southern States, besides New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana. New York was still in doubt, but it seemed to have gone Democratic. The *New York Sun*, which had supported the farcical Greenback candidacy of General B. F. Butler, and which was bitterly opposed to Cleveland, conceded his election. The *Tribune*, on the other hand, kept its flag still flying, and declared that Blaine had won. It was evident that the result depended upon a few hundred votes in the outlying counties of New York. A very ugly feeling was manifested among the Democrats. They suspected that a plot was on foot to cheat them of their rights and to repeat the discreditable history of 1876. . . .

Mobs filled the streets in the vicinity of the newspaper offices, watching intently every bulletin that was posted, and from time to time breaking out into savage cheers or groans. Violence was attempted in several cities, and bodies of men marched up and down as they had done at the outbreak of the Civil War. The excitement was most intense in the city of New York, where it was believed that Jay Gould, who controlled the Western Union Telegraph Company, was leagued with the more unscrupulous of the Republican managers to tamper with the delayed returns. An angry mob marched to the Western Union Build-

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ing with shouts of "Hang Jay Gould!" Gould besought police protection; and then from some inner hiding-place he dispatched a telegram to Mr. Cleveland, conceding his election and effusively congratulating him upon it.

On the evening of the 18th of November, the official count was ended; and then the country knew that a plurality of 1,149 votes in the State of New York had given the Presidency to Mr. Cleveland. On that same night, Mr. Blaine appeared at the door of his house in Augusta, Maine, and said to a somber, sullen crowd which had assembled there: "Friends and neighbors, the national contest is over, and by the narrowest of margins we have lost."

The election of Mr. Cleveland marks an epoch in our national history, the importance of which can only now be fully understood. It meant that, with the exception of the negro question, the issues springing from the Civil War had been definitely settled. It meant the beginning of a true reunion of all States and sections. It meant that the nation had turned its back upon the past, and was about to move forward with confidence and courage to a future of material prosperity, and to a greatness of which no one at that time could form an adequate conception. And it meant, altho none then surmised it, that, as a result of new conditions, there was ultimately to be effected a momentous change in the whole social and political structure of the American Republic.

THE DEATH AND FUNERAL OF GENERAL GRANT

(1885)

BY GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON¹

Early in the summer of 1884 the General began to feel a slight pain in his mouth and throat, which increased and developed into cancer of the tongue—a painful and incurable disease. As he gradually grew weaker, the whole nation watched with solicitude the progress of his malady, and prayers were offered in many pulpits in the land for his recovery; day after day expressions of sympathy came not only from all quarters of our own country, but from distant lands. Old strifes and enmities were all forgotten in the presence of approaching death, and the Blue and the Gray alike uttered the warmest expressions of sympathy for the dying soldier. Early in the month of April there was a marked improvement in General Grant's condition, and, among some of his more sanguine friends, hopes were entertained and expressed of his ultimate recovery. Through the length and breadth of the land the morning and evening

¹ From Wilson's "Life of General Grant." By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton & Company. Copyright, 1897. General Wilson served in the Civil War as a volunteer, and at the close of the conflict was a brevet Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He afterward devoted himself to literary and editorial work, and is still living (December, 1911).

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journals contained daily bulletins of one or more columns concerning the condition of the illustrious patient, and many of the leading papers of Great Britain and other lands published daily telegrams.

Fortunately his prayer was answered that he might be permitted to live to complete his *Military Memoirs*, which were substantially finished. It may be doubted if since the world began any book has been written under similar conditions. It far surpasses Sir Walter Scott's gallant efforts to maintain the integrity of his character, that he might bequeath an untarnished name and a fantastic mansion to a long line of Scotts of Abbotsford. Seeing the last enemy approach, the dying but undaunted soldier, suffering almost constant, and at times the severest agony, determined to "fight it out" bravely as he did when he faced General Lee in the Wilderness struggle. This Grant did, to the general astonishment of publishers, physicians, family, and friends, the fruit of this great effort being a fortune for his family. It was probably the most successful expensive book ever issued—more than a quarter of a million copies having been ordered in advance of publication, and nearly half a million of dollars having been received as copyright. In clearness and accuracy of statement, in literary style and finish, it compares favorably with the models of English literature.

The General, contrary to the expectations of his physicians and friends, survived to see the twentieth anniversary of the surrender of Lee's army, and to exchange greetings with his family on the return of the anniversary which may be said to have substantially broken the Confederacy and

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closed the four years' civil conflict. He survived to see the sun rise on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter and the commencement of the war, living also to see the anniversary of the death of President Lincoln, which General Grant deemed the darkest day of his life. After more than a month's confinement to his house, he recovered sufficiently to drive out in the park again on Monday, April 20th, and on the following day he was seen walking in Sixty-sixth Street with one of his sons. About this time he was able to resume his literary work by dictating to a secretary.

He survived to complete substantially his military autobiography, by far the most valuable contribution yet made to the literature of the war. Owing to his increasing weakness and the warm weather, the date of his departure was anticipated by a week, and on June 16th, accompanied by his family, his physician, and attendants, he proceeded in a private car to Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, where a comfortable cottage was placed at the General's disposal for the summer by his friend, Joseph W. Drexel, of New York, by whom it was presented after Grant's death to the Grand Army of the Republic of New York.

From his mountain home on a spur of the Adirondacks General Grant could see at a glance the great theater of the many brilliant movements of Burgoyne's campaign—his marches, his defeats, and his surrender—and the stately monument which commemorates the historic field of the grounded arms.

A few days before his departure from the city, when in a cheerful mood, the General said to a

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friend: "It is a great consolation to me in my sickness to know that the people, both North and South, are seemingly equally kind in their expressions of sympathy. Scores of letters come to me daily, without reference to politics or locality, containing kind words. Many communications are also received from public bodies. But nothing has touched me more deeply than the daily spectacle of the crowds of people gathering about my door for months, and eagerly seeking information as to my condition. Yes, I can certainly say that I tried to do my duty to my country, and I hope I have always treated those who were not on the same side with me, both in the field and in politics, with justice. The men of the South I always looked upon as citizens of our common country, and when it was in my power I always treated them as such. I can say with truth that I never, even in the midst of duty, had any other feeling than that which one citizen should feel toward another." The General also referred with much feeling to the many kind schemes projected in his behalf by friends in California and in other portions of the country.

The ex-President's prayer that the end would come soon was granted, but not before the wish nearest to his heart was gratified—that he should live to finish his book. After many temporary rallies and improvements and much physical suffering, borne in the spirit of Paul's grand text—"Endure hardness as a soldier"—surrounded by all those who were near and dear to him, the illustrious commander passed away peacefully at eight minutes past eight on Thursday morning, July 23, 1885.

More than royal honors may be said to have

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been paid to his memory by the messages of condolence which came to Mrs. Grant from crowned heads and from distinguished personages of various countries and climes. It was the absorbing topic with the press and people of the United States during the period that elapsed between the time of the illustrious soldier's death and burial. Both at home and abroad he was universally recognized as the First Soldier and the First Citizen of the New World. Against this compact consensus of opinion there was no discordant voice, even among the people against whom he wielded his mighty sword. The men of the South had only words of praise for their generous conqueror. . . .

Before his death General Grant, expressed in writing a wish that he should be buried in one of three places—at West Point, where he received his education, in Illinois, where he resided for several years, or in New York, "because the people of that city befriended me in my need." New York, through its mayor, having proffered to Mrs. Grant a burial place in any of the city parks, a spot was selected and accepted in Riverside Park with the single condition that, in accordance with the General's desire, his wife should hereafter be laid by his side. His preference would have been for West Point had he not been under the mistaken impression that Mrs. Grant could not be buried there.

A few days after the hero's death a large and influential committee, with ex-President Arthur as chairman, was appointed by the Mayor of New York to receive and collect funds for the erection of a national monument over General Grant's grave. Within a week of the inauguration of the

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movement, and before his burial, a sum of thirty thousand dollars was received by voluntary contributions. It was afterward increased to six hundred thousand dollars. Movements for other monuments throughout the country have been inaugurated, and several cities of the North already possess statues of the great soldier.

On Tuesday, August 4, a memorial service was held at Mount McGregor in the cottage where Grant died, and a funeral address was delivered. On the same day, and almost at the same hour, a similar service was held in Westminster Abbey, London. The exercises were very impressive, and the vast audience which crowded the ancient abbey gave evidence of sincere sorrow and reverence for the dead soldier. The present Dean of Canterbury delivered an eloquent discourse, classing General Grant with Lincoln as a statesman, and with Washington and Wellington as a strategist. Among those present were representatives of the Queen and the Prince of Wales, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, Mr. Gladstone, and hundreds of the most eminent statesmen and soldiers of England.

The remains of the ex-President arrived in Albany in the afternoon of the same day, and were received by the Governor. They were placed in the State Capitol, where they were seen by large numbers of citizens and people who came from the surrounding country to take their farewell view of his well-known face. On Wednesday afternoon, the 5th, the body of the great soldier arrived in New York, and was escorted by an imposing body of troops to the City Hall. For three days it lay in state, and was viewed by

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nearly a quarter of a million of persons, including a large number of old soldiers who had served under him.

Saturday, August 8th, was the day appointed for his public funeral, the arrangements having been made by General Winfield S. Hancock. A more magnificent demonstration was never witnessed in the New World, attesting the nation's admiration and respect for the memory of the American soldier. It is supposed that at least a million and a half persons saw the procession. The streets of the city echoed to the tramp of thirty thousand soldiers and veterans who marched with measured tread to the solemn music of a hundred military bands. There were to be seen heroes of scores of battles, and the torn and tattered flags that waved over Shiloh, Vicksburg, the Wilderness, and other well-contested fields. Never but once before and once since in the history of New York have so large a number of armed men marched through its streets. . . .

It was nearly six hours after the funeral cortège left the City Hall that the catafalque, drawn by twenty-four horses, reached the grave on the banks of the historic Hudson, and was placed in the temporary tomb with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of his family, the President of the United States, his Cabinet, ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, his pall-bearers, Generals Sherman and Sheridan of the Union armies, and Generals Johnston and Buckner of the Confederate service, with many of the most eminent men of the country. So, on that bright and sunny August afternoon, he was laid to rest. . . .

RADICAL LABOR MOVEMENTS— THE HAYMARKET TRAGEDY

(1896)

BY HARRY THURSTON PECK¹

The year 1886 was marked by serious disturbances arising from strikes and other labor movements, which recalled the events of 1877, when the industries of the country were paralyzed, and when, at the great centers of traffic in twelve States, conditions existed that seemed to threaten civil war.² In 1886, there was less violence, yet the social unrest was so wide-spread as to be at once significant and ominous. From the ship-yards in Maine to the railways in Texas and the Far West, there was continual disorder in nearly every branch of industry. In New York City, the employees of the street-car lines began a strike on February 3d, which was ended on the 18th by a victory for the strikers. The disturbances, however, broke out again on March 2d and continued intermittently until September 1st, when the managers of the roads once more gave way. On one

¹ From Dr. Peck's "Twenty Years of the Republic." By permission of the publishers, Dodd, Mead & Co. Copyright, 1906.

² The great strike of 1877 was a railroad strike against reduced wages. It was most acute on the Pennsylvania lines, altho other roads were affected, including the New York Central. Many thousands of men were engaged in it. It began on July 16, 1877, and lasted three months, and resulted in a loss of many millions in wages.

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day every line in New York and Brooklyn was "tied up" completely. In June, the elevated railways had a similar, tho much more brief, experience. The mania for striking seemed to be in the very air; and on April 20th, in Boston, even the children in two of the public schools struck for a continuous session, and adopted all the approved methods of the conventional strike, stationing pickets, attacking such children as refused to join them, and causing a small riot which had to be put down by the police.

The storm centers of labor agitation were in St. Louis and Chicago. In St. Louis a demand was made by the employees of the Texas Pacific Railway for the reinstatement of a foreman who had been discharged. The receiver refused the demand, and a strike took place which very soon extended to the Missouri Pacific, and, in fact, to all the roads constituting the Gould system. Traffic throughout the whole Southwest was practically suspended, and before long the strike took on the form of riot and incendiarism. United States troops were sent to maintain order, but their numbers were insufficient, and the rioters cared nothing for the special deputies who had been sworn in to keep the peace. A squad of these deputies fired upon a crowd, killing or wounding a number of persons (April 7th). This act inflamed the mob, which armed itself, and for a time was master of the city. The torch was applied to railroad property, factories were closed, and great losses were inflicted, not only upon the railways, but upon the entire population.

The leader in these depredations was a Scotchman named Martin Irons, a typical specimen of

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the ignorant fanatic, exactly the sort of man who comes to the front whenever the populace is inflamed by passion and bent on violence. Sly, ignorant, and half an animal, he nevertheless was able to play upon the prejudices of his fellows, and to stimulate their class-hatred so artfully as to make them deaf to the counsels of their saner leaders. For a time he had his way; yet in the end this strike collapsed after those who shared in it had forfeited hundreds of thousands of dollars in wages, and after the railroads had incurred an even heavier loss.

In Chicago, the men in the Pullman works began a strike in May; and before long nearly fifty thousand laborers were out. In a conflict with the police a number of workingmen were shot. Chicago had for some time been the headquarters of a small but very active group of Anarchists, nearly all of whom were foreigners. The strikers had no sympathy with Anarchists, nor any affiliation with them. Nevertheless, the Anarchists believed that the proper moment had now come for them to strike a blow, and they hoped thereby to win to their support new followers from the ranks of the discontented. There were published in Chicago two newspapers, one in English (the *Alarm*), conducted by a man named Parsons, and the other in German (the *Arbeiter Zeitung*), conducted by one August Spies, both of them devoted to the anarchistic propaganda. About the time when the strike began, there appeared in the *Alarm* a most inflammatory article, of which the following is a part:

"DYNAMITE! Of all the good stuff this is the stuff. Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff

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into an inch pipe, plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate neighborhood of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. The dear stuff can be carried around in the pocket without danger; while it is a formidable weapon against any force of militia, police or detectives that may want to stifle the cry for justice that goes forth from the plundered slaves."

On May 4th, a mass-meeting of workingmen was held in the Haymarket Square to protest against the acts of the police. Late at night, after some rather tame addresses had been delivered, an Anarchist leader, an Englishman named Samuel Fielden, broke forth into a violent harangue. He denounced all government in the most savage terms, yelling out, "The law is your enemy! We are rebels against it!" Word had been sent to police headquarters; and while Fielden was in the midst of his wild talk, a battalion of nearly two hundred policemen marched into the Square. Their captain commanded the gathering to disperse. Fielden replied, "We are peaceable." He was, however, arrested. A moment later, a pistol was fired, apparently as a signal, and at once a bomb was hurled into the ranks of the police. It exploded with terrible effect.

Nearly fifty policemen were thrown to the ground, and seven of them were so badly wounded that they died soon after. With splendid discipline, the ranks were at once closed up and a charge was made upon the mob, which scattered hastily in flight. Of the Anarchists arrested for this outrage, seven were sentenced to death by Judge Gary. Of these seven, four—Engel, Spies,

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Parsons and Fischer—were hanged; one—Lingg—committed suicide, and two—Schwab and Fielden—had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. Eight years afterward, a Governor of Illinois, Mr. John P. Altgeld, moved partly by the appeals of sentimentalists, and partly by his own instinctive sympathy with lawlessness, gave a free pardon to such Anarchists as had been imprisoned.

In June, 1886, in New York, the disturbed conditions were reflected in political agitation, tho here, also, the Anarchists showed their heads. They were, however, dealt with before they could do mischief. One of their leaders, named Johann Most, and three of his companions, were imprisoned on the charge of inciting to riot. . . .

Wherever throughout the country the labor element had shown its discontent, the name of the Knights of Labor was, in one way or another, pretty certain to be heard. This organization was one whose origin and evolution are of great significance in the social and economic history of the United States. Prior to 1866, such organizations of workmen as existed were either societies for general purposes, not necessarily connected with labor questions, or else they were trade-unions in the narrowest sense, confining their membership to men and women engaged in particular and special industries. In 1866, however, there was formed the National Labor Union, of which the purpose was to promote the solidarity, not only of skilled workmen, but of the masses in general, with a view to the amelioration of their condition. This body, unfortunately, almost from the first, fell into the hands of politicians, and in 1870 it died a natural death. Its aims, however, were

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adopted by a number of garment-cutters in Philadelphia, in 1869, who at first formed a secret order—secrecy being adopted because of the hostility of employers to labor organizations.

This was the origin of the Knights of Labor, who admitted to membership in their body all persons above the age of sixteen, except saloon-keepers, gamblers, bankers, and lawyers. In 1882, it ceased to be a secret order; and thereafter it rapidly increased in membership until, in 1886, it was said to number more than seven hundred thousand persons. The principles which the order officially professed were distinctly socialistic. It advocated equal rights for women, the common ownership of land, and the acquisition by the Government of public utilities, such as railroads, telegraphs and telephones. It is here that we first find in the United States a large and influential body of men pledged to the support of what was in reality a system of State Socialism.

In order to understand the significance of this movement, and to explain the rapid propagation of socialistic principles, it is necessary to recall a few important facts relating to American economic history of the preceding thirty years. One effect of the Civil War had been the rapid acquisition of great fortunes by individuals, and the growth of powerful corporations. Conspicuous among the latter were the railway companies. The period succeeding the war had been a period of railway building. Between 1860 and 1880 more than sixty thousand miles of railway had been constructed and put into operation. They represented an enormous amount of capital, and this capital represented an enormous amount of influence, both

RADICAL LABOR MOVEMENTS

political and social. How much the nation owed to its railway system was very obvious. The easy distribution of its products brought prosperity to every section. Great cities sprang up in the prairies at the magic touch of the railway.

Moreover, in one sense, the unity of the Republic itself was the work of the railway, which proved to be a great assimilator, annihilating distance, bringing one section into easy communication with another, and thereby creating not only common interests, but a common understanding. On the other hand, a moment's thought will make it clear that railways were essentially monopolies, and that their growth lodged in the hands of their owners the right to tax at will the people from whom they had received their charters, and whose interests they were supposed to serve.

Even if the individuals to whom this irresponsible power was entrusted had been always wise, unselfish and public-spirited, the unregulated right of taxation would have been an anomaly in a free State. But as they were very human, serving their own interests, and naturally seeking their own enrichment, abuses, and very gross ones, were inevitable. Still, no hostile sentiment would have been aroused against them had they levied their transportation tax equitably upon all and without discrimination. That they did not do so, and that in consequence they began, about 1870, to create and foster other still more gigantic combinations inimical to the public welfare, are facts which serve to explain the prevalence throughout the country of great social discontent, beginning in 1870 and growing deeper and more intense with each succeeding year.

THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD

(1889)

BY E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS¹

On May 31, 1889, western Pennsylvania was visited by one of the most awful catastrophes ever chronicled. A flood from a burst reservoir annihilated the city of Johnstown with its numerous suburbs, destroying thousands of lives, and \$10,000,000 worth of property. The reservoir was two and a half miles in length, one and a half broad at places, one hundred feet deep in places, and situated two hundred and seventy-five feet above the level of Johnstown. Heavy rains had fallen, and the dam was known to be weak; yet the people below, who were repeatedly warned during the day, took no alarm.

When, starting just before the break, about 3 P. M., Engineer Park galloped down the valley shouting to all to run for their lives, it was too late.

¹ From Andrews's "History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States." By permission of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons. Copyright, 1895.

The Johnstown, Pa., flood followed heavy rainfalls. A dam across the South Fork of the Conemaugh River, twelve miles east of Johnstown, broke away and released Conemaugh Lake, thus submerging the valley with extraordinary rapidity and carrying buildings and men and women from Johnstown and several villages along its course. The lives lost have since been carefully estimated as 2,235, and the property as \$10,000,000. The contributions in aid of the sufferers from all parts of the country amounted to about \$3,000,000.

THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD

Hard behind him came thundering along at a speed of two and a half miles a minute, a mountain of water fifty feet high, thirty feet wide at first, and widening to half a mile bearing upon its angry crest, whole or in fragments, houses, factories, bridges, and at length villages, and growing wilder, higher, swifter, deadlier, and more powerful as it moved. Trees, brush, furniture, boulders, pig and railway iron, corpses, machinery, miles and miles of barbed wire, and an indescribable mass of miscellaneous wreckage, all inextricably mixed, also freighted the torrent. Immense mills were knocked from their foundations, and whirled down stream like children's block-work. Pig-iron by the hundred tons was borne away, the bars subsequently strewn for miles down the valley. Engines weighing twenty tons were tossed up as if the law of gravity had been repealed. One locomotive was carried a mile. At Johnstown, where the shape of the valley generated an enormous whirlpool, the roar of the waters and the grinding together of the wreckage rent the air like lost spirits groaning in chorus.

Hundreds who had clambered to the roofs of houses floated about on that boiling sea all the afternoon and night, shot hither and thither by the crazy flood. Most who met death were, we may hope, instantly drowned, but many clung to fragments, falling into the waters only when their strength gave way, their limbs were broken or their brains dashed out. A telegraph operator at Sanghollow saw one hundred and nineteen bodies, living or dead, float by in an hour. Early next morning two corpses had reached Pittsburgh, seventy-eight miles distant. A little boy was res-

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cued who, with his parents, a brother and two sisters, had sailed down from Johnstown in a small house. This went to pieces in going over the bridge, and all were drowned but he.

A raft formed from part of a floor held a young man and two women, probably his wife and mother. As they neared Bolivar bridge, a rope was lowered to rescue them, and the man was observed to be instructing the women how to catch and hold it. Himself succeeded in clutching it, but they failed, whereupon he purposely let go and regained the raft as it lurched under the bridge. Later it struck a tree, into which with preternatural skill and strength he helped his protégés to climb; but a great wreck soon struck the tree, instantly overwhelming the trio in the seething tide. Fate reached the scene of its malignity next day, June 1st, after the flood had begun to subside. The immense boom of débris gathered at the railway bridge just below Johnstown—an eighth of a mile wide and long, from thirty to fifty feet deep, and rammed so solid that dynamite was at last required to rend it—took fire. The flames raged for twelve hours. No effort was spared to recover the living imprisoned in the pile. Fifty or more were taken out, but it is feared that no fewer than five hundred perished.

Relief work began at once, commendably systematic and thorough, and on a scale commensurate with the disaster. In less than twenty-four hours, in spite of washed-out tracks and ruptured telegraph-wires, Pittsburgh had train-loads of provisions in Johnstown, and a body of nearly three hundred active men, who comforted, fed, clothed and housed the distress people until re-

THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD

lieved by the Flood Relief Commission on June 12th. Pittsburgh contributed \$252,000 in money, \$64,000 of it being subscribed in an hour. Philadelphia contributed half a million dollars to the relief fund; New York the same. Nearly every city in the Union aided. President Harrison was chairman of a meeting in Washington where \$30,000 was pledged. Several sums were telegraphed from abroad, among them one of \$1,000 from Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The total of contributions reached \$3,000,000. Train loads of supplies rolled in. The Red Cross Society, with physicians, nurses, tents, disinfectants, medicines, food and clothing was promptly on the ground. Rigid sanitary provisions were enforced, made specially necessary by the length of time inevitably elapsing before all the dead could be interred.

THE OPENING OF THE CHEROKEE STRIP IN OKLAHOMA

(1893)

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE RUSH TO OCCUPY IT¹

Kildare, O. T., September 16.—With the sharp crack of a carbine in the hands of a sergeant of the Third Cavalry, followed by almost simultaneous reports from the weapons of the other soldiers stationed all among the line between Kansas and the Indian country, the greatest race ever seen in the world began to-day. It was on a race-track 100 miles wide, with a free field, and with a principality for the stake. From the rear of a special train filled with Santa Fé officials, the start from the south end of the Chilocco reservation was seen to better advantage than from anywhere else along the whole line. From this point the racers had three miles the start of all others. Directly south

¹From the letters of correspondents of the *New York Tribune*, September 17, 1893. Oklahoma comprises a part of the old Indian territory, and was acquired by the national Government through the satisfaction of Indian claims. The central portion was thrown open to white settlers in April, 1889. Another tract was thrown open in 1891. What is known as the Cherokee Strip, thrown open in 1893, comprized about 6,000,000 acres. Seven years later (1900) Oklahoma had a population of 398,000, and in 1907 had 1,114,000. In 1908 it produced 122,239,000 bushels of corn, 15,625,000 bushels of wheat, and 412,859,000 pounds of cotton.

THE OPENING OF OKLAHOMA

of this line were the towns along the Santa Fé, which were the objective points for so many of the boomers. For a mile in the rear of the line, there was presented what appeared like a fine hedge fence, extending as far as the eye could reach along the prairie in both directions. But as the observer approached the fence it changed into a living wall.

Men and horses seemed in almost inextricable confusion until the line itself was reached, and then it was seen that every man, woman and horse had an allotted place and was kept in it by a law stronger than any act on the statute books—the compulsion exercised by a great body of free Americans, who were determined to have things just and right. The line was probably straighter than any that was ever formed by the starters on a race-course. The horsemen and bicycle-riders were to the front, while the buggies and the lighter wagons were in the second row, with heavy teams close in the rear. The shot sounded, and away they went, with horses rearing and pitching, and one unfortunate boomer striking the ground before the line had fairly been broken. Within three hundred yards the first horse was down, and died after that short effort. But the rider was equal to the occasion, and immediately stuck his stake into the ground, and made his claim to a quarter section of the finest farming land in the strip.

It was perhaps the maddest rush ever made. No historic charge in battle could equal this charge of free American people for homes. While courtesy had marked the treatment of women in the lines for many days, when it came to this

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race they were left to take care of themselves. Only one was fortunate enough and plucky enough to reach the desired goal ahead of nearly all her competitors. This was Miss Mabel Gentry, of Thayer, Neosho County, Kan., who rode a fiery little black pony at the full jump for the seven miles from the line to the town site of Kildare, reaching that point in seventeen minutes. It was a terrible drive from start to finish, but the girl and her horse reached the town. In the race the bicycle-riders were left far behind. The crisp grass of the prairie worked to their disadvantage. The men and women with buggies were also out-distanced and reached the town site after the best lots had been taken.

Thousands were disappointed after all the lots had been taken, and thousands went right on through the district without stopping. That the land was totally inadequate to the demand was made evident this evening, when the northbound train went through. Every train was almost as heavily loaded as when it came in this morning, and thousands of persons who returned brought tales of as many more persons wandering around aimlessly all over the Strip, looking for what was not there. The station platforms all along the line were crowded with people who had rushed in and who were now hoping for a chance to rush out. The opening is over, the Indian land is given away, and still there are thousands of men and women in this part of the country without homes.

Arkansas City, Ark., September 16.—When at noon to-day the bars that have so long enclosed 6,000,000 acres of public land were let down, more than 100,000 men and women joined in the mad rush

THE OPENING OF OKLAHOMA

for land. Men who had the fastest horses rode like the wind from the border, only to find other men, with sorry-looking animals, ahead of them. Fast teams carrying anxious home-seekers were driven at breakneck speed, only to find on the land men who had gone in afoot. Every precaution had been taken to keep out the "Sooner" element, yet that same element, profiting by former experiences, had captured the land. All night the rumble of teams could be heard as they moved out to the strip. At the stations the men stood in line at the ticket office, awaiting the slow movements of ticket-sellers, who could not sell more than 2,000 tickets an hour. The great jam was at Orlando, where were gathered 20,000 citizens of Perry, all anxious for the time to come when they could start on their ten-mile race. From the elevation at Orlando the line could be seen for a distance of eight miles east and ten miles west. A half-dozen times some one would shout the hour of noon, and fifty to a hundred horsemen would draw out of the line, only to be driven back by the cavalrymen, who were patrolling the Strip in front of the impatient throng.

At last a puff of smoke was seen out on the plains to the north, and soon the dull boom of a cannon was heard. A dozen carbines along the line were fired in response to the signal, and the line was broken. Darting out at breakneck speed, the racers soon dotted the plains in every direction. The trains were loaded rapidly. At first there was an attempt to examine the registration certificates; but this was soon given up, as the rushing thousands pushed those ahead of them, the trainmen giving all their time to collecting

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tickets. The first train of twelve cars pulled across the line at noon, crowded as trains never were before; even the platforms and roofs were black with human beings. Following this train at intervals of only two or three minutes went another and another until the last, composed of flat and coal cars, all crowded, had pulled across the line, followed by at least 3,000 disappointed, panting men who were determined not to be deprived of their rights. The run to Perry was made in three-quarters of an hour. Before the train stopt men began climbing out of the windows and tumbling from the platforms.

In their haste to secure claims ahead of the trains were at least 1,000 horsemen, who had come the ten miles from the line in unprecedentedly short time and who claimed all the lots immediately about the land office and the public well. They were rubbing down their weary horses when the trains were unloading. When the last of the trains pulled in the scramble for land about the town continued with increased vigor. The quarter-sections about the town had all been taken, but in every direction lines were being run and additional towns laid out, to be called North Perry, South Perry, East Perry, and West Perry. By two o'clock fully 20,000 men and women, of all nationalities and colors, were on the site of what all hope will be a great city. They were without food and without water. The scenes at Enid were a repetition of those at Perry.

THE PANIC OF 1893

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES¹

The Treasury was confronted for the first time in its history with a heavy drain on its gold reserve to redeem outstanding notes. During nine months Secretary Foster² was engaged in a continuous struggle to save the redemption fund. The strain relaxed temporarily in the autumn of 1892, when interior trade was again very large. Practically no gold was imported, but, on the other hand, exports ceased almost entirely. Moreover, upward of \$25,000,000 legal tenders were drawn from the New York banks to the West and South, and the Treasury obtained some gold from these institutions in exchange for notes delivered at interior points. But when the eastward flow of currency began again, at the end of the harvest season, gold exports were resumed and with them the presentation of legal tenders for redemption. In December, 1892, and January, 1893, upward of \$25,000,000 gold was withdrawn by note-holders from the Treasury to provide for export needs.

By the close of January the Treasury's gold reserve had fallen to a figure barely eight millions over the legal minimum. With February's early withdrawals even larger, Secretary Foster so far

¹ From Noyes's "Forty Years of American Finance." By permission of the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Copyright, 1898-1909.

² Charles Foster, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury in Harrison's Administration.

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lost hope of warding off the crisis that he gave orders to prepare the engraved plates for a bond-issue under the Resumption Act. As a last resort, however, he bethought himself of Secretary Manning's gold-borrowing operations of 1885. In February Mr. Foster came in person to New York to urge the banks to give up gold voluntarily in exchange for the Treasury's legal-tender surplus.

Such a situation could not continue long. The very sight of this desperate struggle going on to maintain the public credit was sufficient to alarm both home and foreign interests, and this alarm was now reflected everywhere. The feverish money market, the disordered and uneasy market for securities, and the renewed advance in foreign exchange, combined to bring matters to a head. On April 15, Secretary Carlisle* gave notice that issue of Treasury gold certificates should be suspended. This action was taken merely in conformity with the Law of 1882, already cited. It was, however, public announcement that, for the first time since resumption of specie payments, the reserve against the legal tenders had fallen below the statutory minimum.

The news provoked immediate and uneasy inquiry as to what the Treasury's next move would be. No definite advices came from Washington, but in the following week a very unexpected and financially alarming rumor ran through the markets. Out of the \$25,000,000 legal tenders redeemed in gold during March and April, 1893 nearly \$11,000,000 had been Treasury notes of 1890. Under one clause of the Law of 1890 the Secretary was empowered to "redeem such notes

* John G. Carlisle, of Cleveland's second Cabinet.

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in gold or silver coin at his discretion." The burden of the rumor of April 17th was that the Treasury, now that its gold reserve had actually fallen below the legal limit, would refuse further redemption of these notes in gold, and would tender only silver coin. During the two or three days in which this rumor circulated, general misgiving and uneasiness prevailed, the security markets fell into great disorder, foreign exchange again rose rapidly, and the money market ran up to the panicky rate of fifteen per cent. . . .

The public mind was on the verge of panic. During a year or more, it had been continuously disturbed by the undermining of the Treasury, a process visible to all observers. The financial situation in itself was vulnerable. In all probability, the crash of 1893 would have come twelve months before, had it not been for the accident of 1891's great harvest, in the face of European famine. . .

The panic of 1893, in its outbreak and in its culmination, followed the several successive steps familiar to all such episodes. One or two powerful corporations, which had been leading in the general plunge into debt, gave the first signals of distress. On February 20th, the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, with a capital of forty millions and a debt of more than \$125,000,000, went into bankruptcy; on the 5th of May, the National Cordage Company, with twenty millions capital and ten millions liabilities, followed suit. The management of both these enterprises had been marked by the rashest sort of speculation; both had been favorites on the speculative markets. The Cordage Company in particular had kept in the race for debt up to the moment of its ruin. In the

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very month of the company's insolvency, its directors declared a heavy cash dividend; paid, as may be supposed, out of capital. As it turned out, the failure of this notorious undertaking was the blow that undermined the structure of speculative credit. In January, National Cordage stock had advanced twelve per cent. on the New York market, selling at 147. Sixteen weeks later, it fell below ten dollars per share, and with it, during the opening week of May, the whole stock market collapsed. The bubble of inflated credit having been thus punctured, a general movement of liquidation started. This movement immediately developed very serious symptoms. Of these symptoms the most alarming was the rapid withdrawal of cash reserves from the city banks. . . .

Panic is in its nature unreasoning; therefore, altho the financial fright of 1893 arose from fear of depreciation of the legal tenders, the first act of frightened bank depositors was to withdraw these very legal tenders from their banks. But the real motive lay back of any question between the various forms of currency. Experience had taught depositors that in a general collapse of credit the banks would probably be the first marks of disaster. Many of such depositors had lost their savings through bank failures in the panics of 1873 and 1884. Instinct led them, therefore, when the same financial weather-signs were visible in 1893, to get their money out of the banks and into their own possession with the least possible delay, and as a rule the legal tenders were the only form of money which they were in the habit of using. But when the depositors of interior banks demanded cash, and such banks had in

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immediate reserve a cash fund amounting to only six per cent. of their deposits, it followed that the Eastern "reserve agents" would be drawn upon in enormous sums.

On the New York banks the strain was particularly violent. During the month of June the cash reserves of banks in that city decreased nearly twenty millions; during July, they fell off twenty-one millions more. The deposits entrusted to them by interior institutions had been loaned, according to the banking practise, in the Eastern market; their sudden recall in quantity forced the Eastern banks to contract their loans immediately. But in a market already struggling to sustain itself from wreck, such wholesale impairment of resources was a disastrous blow. In the closing days of June, the New York money rate on call advanced to seventy-four per cent., time loans being wholly unobtainable. . . .

We have seen that the inflation of credit, during 1892, had been heaviest by far in the interior. The early withdrawals by depositors in the country banks were only a slight indication of what was to follow. In July, this Western panic had reached a stage which seemed to foreshadow general bankruptcy. Two classes of interior institutions went down immediately—the weaker savings banks, which in that section were largely joint-stock enterprises, and a series of private banks, distributed in various provincial towns, which had fostered speculation through the use of their combined deposits by the men who controlled them all.

In not a few instances, country banks were forced to suspend at a moment when their own cash reserves were on their way to them from

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depository centers. Out of the total one hundred and fifty-eight national bank failures of the year, one hundred and fifty-three were in the West and South. How wide-spread the destruction was among other interior banking institutions may be judged from the fact that the season's record of suspensions comprized 172 State banks, 177 private banks, 47 savings-banks, 13 loan and trust companies, and 16 mortgage companies. The ruin resulting in the seaboard cities from the panic of 1893 was undoubtedly less severe than that of twenty years before. But no such financial wreck had fallen upon the West since it became a factor in the financial world.

During the month of July, in the face of their own distress, the New York banks were shipping every week as much as \$11,000,000 cash to these Western institutions. Ordinarily, such an enormous drain would have found compensation in import of foreign gold, and, in fact, sterling exchange declined far below the normal gold-import point. But the blockade of credit was so complete that operations in exchange, even for the import of foreign specie, were impracticable. Banks with impaired reserves would not lend even on the collateral of drafts on London.

So large a part, indeed, of the Clearing-House debit balances were now discharged in loan certificates that a number of banks adopted the extreme measure of refusing to pay cash for the checks of their own depositors. Charged with such refusal in the press and on the floor of the United States Senate, the banks simply intimated that they had not the money to pay out. This was not far from general insolvency. Long continued, a situa-

THE PANIC OF 1893

tion of the kind must reduce a portion of the community almost to a state of barter; and in fact a number of large employers of labor actually made plans in 1893 to issue a currency of their own, redeemable when the banks had resumed cash payments. On the 25th of July, the Erie Railroad failed, the powerful Milwaukee Bank suspended, and the governors of the New York Stock Exchange seriously discuss a repetition of the radical move of November, 1873, when the Exchange was closed. The very hopelessness of the situation brought its own remedy.

Relief came in two distinct and remarkable ways. Large as the volume of outstanding loan certificates already was, three New York banks combined to take out three to four millions more, and this credit fund was wholly used to facilitate gold imports. At almost the same time, the number of city banks refusing to cash depositors' checks had grown so considerable that well-known money-brokers advertised in the daily papers that they would pay in certified bank checks a premium for currency. This singular operation virtually meant the sale of bank checks for cash at a discount. Checks on banks which refused cash payments were still good for the majority of ordinary exchanges, but they were useless to depositors who had, for instance, to provide large sums of cash for the weekly pay-rolls of their employees. Being unavailable for such purposes, the certified checks were really depreciated—like paper money irredeemable in gold. Through the money-brokers, therefore, these depositors paid in checks the face value of such currency as was offered, plus an additional percentage.

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This premium rose from one and a half to four per cent., and at the higher figures it attracted a mass of hoarded currency into the brokers' hands. The expedient was not entirely new; it had been tried under similar circumstances in the panic of 1873. But in 1893 it was applied on an unusually large scale, and it had the good result of helping to keep the wheels of industry moving. Its bad result was that it caused suspension of cash payments in the majority of city banks; for, of course, when a premium of four per cent. was offered in Wall Street for any kind of currency, it was out of the question for the banks to respond unhesitatingly to demands for cash by speculative depositors. Most of the banks cashed freely the checks of depositors where it was shown that the cash was needed for personal or business uses; but other applications they refused. . . .

Panic, in short, had ended, but not until the movement of liquidation had run its course. The record of business failures for the year gives some conception of the ruin involved in this forced liquidation. Commercial failures alone in 1893 were three times as numerous as those of 1873, and the aggregate liabilities involved were fully fifty per cent. greater. It was computed that nine commercial houses out of every thousand doing business in the United States failed in 1873; in 1893, the similar reckoning showed thirteen failures in every thousand.

THE COLUMBIAN WORLD'S FAIR

(1893)

BY E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS¹

The idea of celebrating Columbus's discovery of the New World long anticipated the anniversary year. New York was appealed to as a suitable seat for the enterprise, and entertained the suggestion by subscribing \$5,000,000, whereupon, in 1889, Chicago apprized the country of her wish to house the Fair. St. Louis and Washington appeared as competitors, but the other three cities unanimously set Washington aside. St. Louis showed little enthusiasm. Thirty-five citizens of Chicago, led by a specially active few of their number, organized Chicago's energies with such success that on appearing before Congress she had \$5,000,000 in hand and could promise \$5,000,000 more. The commodiousness of the city as well as its position near the center of population and commerce told in its favor. Father Knickerbocker was not a little chagrined when his alert and handsome cousin persuaded Congress to allot her the prize. The act organizing the Exposition was approved April 25, 1890. A National Commission was appointed, under the presidency of Hon. T. W. Palmer, of Michigan. An executive committee was raised, also a board of reference and con-

¹ From Andrews's "History of the Last Quarter Century in the United States." By permission of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons. Copyright, 1895, 1896.

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trol, a Chicago local board, a board of lady managers, and a number of standing committees to deal with various branches of the colossal undertaking. . . . The least unavailable sight for the exposition was Jackson Park, in the southeastern part of the city, where one saw at the water's edge dreary ridges of sand, in the background a swamp with flags, marsh-grass and clumps of willow and wild-oak. Paris had taken nearly three years to prepare for the Exposition of 1889; twenty months were allowed Chicago. The site to be gotten in readiness was four times as large as that for the Paris Exposition. A dozen palaces and ten score other edifices were to be located, raised and adorned; the waters to be gathered in canals, basins and lagoons, and spanned by bridges. Underground conduits had to be provided for electric wires. Endless grading, planting, turfing, paving and road-making must be accomplished. Thousands of workmen of all nationalities and trades, also fire, police, ambulance and hospital service—a superb industrial army—had to be mustered in and controlled. The growth of the colossal structures seemed magical. Sections of an immense arch would silently meet high in air “like shadows flitting across the sky.” Some giant pillar would hang as by a thread a hundred feet above ground till a couple of men appeared aloft and set it in place. Workmen in all sorts of impossible postures and positions were swarming, climbing and gesticulating like Palmer Cox's Brownies.

On Wednesday, October 21, 1892, the hive was stilled, in honor of Columbus's immortal deed. Just four hundred years before for the first time

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so far as we certainly know or ever shall, European eyes saw American land. This climacteric event in human history was by Old Style dated October 12th. The addition of nine days to translate it into New Style made the date October 21st. On that day occurred a reception in the Auditorium, 3,500 persons responding to the invitation.

Mr. Cleveland's first prominent appearance before the public after his inauguration was upon the Opening Day of the Columbian Exposition, May 1, 1893. It was a legal holiday. In spite of the mist, rain and mud of its early hours, patient multitudes waited outside for the gates of Jackson Park to open. The inevitable procession, dramatically welcomed by the uncouth aliens of the Midway Plaisance, stopt at the temporary platform in front of the Administration Building, where, among many others, sat President Cleveland side by side with Columbus's descendant, the Duke of Veragua.* Inspiring music and poetry led up to the climax of the occasion. . . .

Many of the festal days which followed were chosen by States and nations for their own in particular. Every State had its day, which it brightened with music and pageantry, not omitting the eloquence and hospitality suited to such occasions.

* Diego, the great grandson of Columbus, died childless in 1578, when the male line came to an end. A lawsuit for succession to the titles then followed, and lasted thirty years, being finally settled in favor of descendants of Isabel, a sister of Louis Columbus. In 1788 this line ended, and after litigation again, the title was settled on descendants of Francesca, sister of Diego Columbus, the great grandson of the discoverer, from whom was descended the Duke of Veragua, who came to this country for the Columbian celebration, and received distinguished honors here. He was born in 1887.

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On her day California dispensed freely to all comers of her abundant fruit. New York did not sulk over her loss of the opportunity to entertain the Fair, but vigorously and with splendid success celebrated the day set apart for her. "The great day of the feast" was "Chicago Day," October 9th, the twenty-second anniversary of the awful fire. All the night before houseless thousands had sheltered themselves in doorways and under the elevated railroad, while 15,000 awaited at the gates the opening of the grounds. During the day 716,881 persons paid their way into the grounds, the largest number for any one day, exceeding the maximum at Philadelphia—217,526, and that at Paris, in 1889—397,150. Original and interesting exercises marked the hours. . . .

In magnitude and splendor the grounds and buildings constituting the White City far surpassed any ever before laid out for exposition purposes. The original sketch of the grounds was drawn with pencil on brown paper by the late Mr. John W. Root. It projected an effective contrast of land and water as well as of art and nature, which subsequent elaboration, mainly under the invaluable advice and guidance of the late Richard M. Hunt,³ nobly filled out. The North Pond communicated with the lake by the North Inlet and with the Grand Basin by the North Canal, opposite which was the South Canal. South of the

³ Richard Morris Hunt was born in 1828 and died in July, 1895. One of his noted buildings is the Lenox Library on upper Fifth Avenue, New York, facing Central Park, now threatened with demolition, the Lenox Library having been consolidated with the New York Public Library and the books removed to the new building on Fifth Avenue, at Forty-second Street.

THE COLUMBIAN WORLD'S FAIR

Basin was South Inlet, leading from Lake Michigan into South Pond. In one corner was the isolated Northwest Pond. Approaching the park by water one landed at a long pier, on which was the moving sidewalk—the Power House, where alone steam-power was allowed, standing to the south. At another pier was moored the facsimile battleship *Illinois*. Almost at the lips of her cannon the nations of the world had tabernacled, England nearest. Beyond these, at the north was the neighborhood of States, each represented by a house. Some of the houses were castles, some were cottages. Some provided only comforts, others held displays. Not one but offered points of great interest. Iowa, Washington, California and Illinois advertised their prospects; Florida, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts their history. Mutual visits among these families and mutual admiration were the order of each day.

Upon the Wooded Island, under the protectorate of Horticultural Hall, consummate art had made a refuge for wild nature. Stunted trees were masked by shrubbery and the water planted with aquatic vegetation. Nearly every variety of American tree and shrub was represented upon these acres. Here as well as elsewhere landscape gardeners had created effective backgrounds of willows and of flowers, and stretches of lawn set off by statuary and fountains. Distances were too great to be traversed always on foot, but other modes of locomotion were ample. A good if somewhat noisy servant was the Intramural Railway, which conducted one by the rear of the grounds, the back way, as it were from one end of the enclosure to the other. But the beauty of the place

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more imprest you if you boarded a gondola or an electric launch, sweeping under arches, around islands, and past balustrades, terraces and flowered lawns. Easy transit through the larger buildings, or from one to another, was furnished by wheeled chairs. . . .

Great as was the expenditure, it would have been inadequate to the results had it not been possible to employ a material at once cheap, sufficiently durable, and very ductile in architects' hands. This was a mixture of plaster of Paris with certain fibers, commonly known as "staff." "It permitted the architects to indulge in an architectural spree." It made possible "a group of buildings which might have been a vision of an ancient monarch, but which no autocrat and no government could have carried out in permanent form." It allowed modern masters to reproduce "the best details of ancient architecture—to erect temples, colonnades, towers and domes of surpassing beauty and noble proportions—making an object-lesson of practical educational value equal to its impressive character." . . .

The name of the "Court of Honor" awoke in one a throb of anticipation before seeing its chaste beauty, which must to his dying day haunt the memory of every visitor who beheld it. Its majestic unity was mainly due to the genius of R. M. Hunt, already mentioned for his masterly agency in rendering the Fair so picturesque and so perfect as an architectural *ensemble*. Down the Grand Basin you looked upon the golden statue of the Republic, with its noble proportions, beyond it the peristyle, a forest of columns surmounted by the Columbian quadriga. On the right hand stood the

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Agricultural Buildings, upon whose summit the "Diana" of Augustus St. Gaudens had alighted. To the left stood the enormous Hall of Manufactures just mentioned.

Looking from the peristyle the eye met the Administration Building, admired by critics and laymen alike. Its architect was Mr. Hunt. He was a devotee of the French school, and here presented to the American people its best exemplification. The dome resembled that of the Hotel des Invalides in Paris. In this Court originality was happily sacrificed to harmony. It was well that specimens of the best architecture should be set before the public, rather than novel departures from standard types; for the Fair not only showed the vast growth of art in America since 1876, but served as an educator in the canons of taste. The American art displayed at the Fair disappointed Europe by imitating hers so well. Yet it was clear that we were not mere imitators. . . .

The number of paid admissions to the Columbian Fair was 21,477,218, a daily average of 119,984½. The gross attendance was 27,529,400, exceeding by nearly a million the number at the Paris Exposition for the six months ending with October, tho rather over half a million less than the total attendance at Paris, where the gates were open a considerably longer time than at Chicago. The monthly average of visitors increased steadily from about 1,000,000 in May to nearly 7,000,000 in October. It was estimated that in all 12,000,000 different individuals saw the Fair.

THE WILSON TARIFF

(1894)

BY HARRY THURSTON PECK¹

On December 19th, Mr. Wilson,² the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means reported to the House the bill popularly known as "the Wilson Bill." The Republicans at once denounced it as free trade legislation; yet an analysis of its provisions as originally reported showed plainly enough that while it was distinctly a step in the direction of freer trade it was on the whole a very conservative measure. In the first place, it removed entirely the duties on wool, on coal, on iron ore, on lumber, and on sugar, both raw and refined. It made rather moderate reductions in the duties on woolen goods, cottons, linens, silks, pig-iron, steel billets, steel rails, tin plate, china, glassware, and earthenware. A number of minor and miscellaneous articles received new schedules.

The most noticeable feature of the bill was its treatment of raw materials as just described. Here lay the point of departure from Republican tariff legislation, which in taxing raw materials had made American protectionism a thing unlike the protectionism of other leading nations. The

¹ From Peck's "Twenty Years of the Republic." By permission of the publishers, Dodd, Mead & Company. Copyright, 1906.

² William L. Wilson. The bill was introduced about nine months after Cleveland took office.

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Wilson Bill, in providing for the free entry of wool, coal, iron ore, lumber and sugar, adopted a principle recognized by scientific economists, while it adhered closely to the recommendations of President Cleveland's various messages and to the promise made in the Democratic platform of 1892.

The remission of the duty on wool was the boldest assertion of the new policy; for the duty on wool was the one provision of the McKinley tariff that had been of practical advantage to many American farmers. Its repeal was bitterly opposed by the wool-growers of Ohio and other States, whom Senator Sherman estimated at a million souls, and the value of their annual product at \$125,000,000. Free iron ore was opposed by the interest that had secured control of the Western ore beds, but it was of distinct advantage to the Eastern manufacturers. Free coal affected very few sections of the country. In New England and on the Pacific Coast, consumers might get their supply of coal from the adjacent mines in Canada rather than from the more distant coal-fields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia; but the country at large must still use American and not imported coal. The same thing was true with regard to lumber.

The question of the tariff on sugar, however, was somewhat more complex. During the years preceding 1894, the refining of sugar in the United States had gradually become monopolized by the American Sugar Refining Company, oftener spoken of as the Sugar Trust, of which Mr. H. O. Havemeyer was the head. This corporation was one of the most powerful of all those to which public attention had been directed, and it was one of the

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most unpopular. The interests of this corporation would be served by admitting raw sugar free, thus giving the Trust the benefit of cheap material), and by a tax upon refined sugar which came from other countries. This was precisely what the McKinley Act had done, enormously increasing the profits of the Trust. The Wilson Bill, as reported to the House, provided for the admission of raw sugar free, in accordance with the general theory as to raw materials, but it also admitted refined sugar free, thereby depriving the Sugar Trust of any special advantage, and leaving it to stand upon its own legs.

So much for the distinctive features of the new tariff measure in its original form. The rest of its schedules were lower than those of the McKinley Act, but in the main quite as high if not higher than those of the Tariff Act of 1883, passed by a Republican Congress. In fact, taken as a whole, the Wilson Bill, so far from being in essence a free-trade measure, was one that would have been regarded in the years before the Civil War as a piece of rigorous protective legislation. It embodied, however, as has been explained, the general principle of free raw materials; while still it dealt considerably with the many interests which had grown up under the shelter of the thirty-two tariff acts which the Republicans had passed between 1860 and 1890.

The Wilson Bill was very well received by the Democrats in the House and by the party as a whole. Little change was made in the original draft during the five weeks when it was under consideration by the Representatives. But many Democrats and some Republicans from the South

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and West eagerly advocated the insertion in the bill of a clause providing for a tax on incomes. This would yield, it was said, a substantial revenue and wipe out the anticipated deficit; and most of all, it would make the possessors of large fortunes contribute to the Government a sum proportionate to their wealth. There was a strong and very wide-spread feeling that many of the richest persons in the country had so successfully "dodged" their taxes as to have secured a practical exemption from any taxation whatsoever. Secretary Carlisle had suggested laying a tax upon certain classes of corporations; but the House adopted instead a tax of 2 per cent. upon all incomes of more than \$4,000, the tax to remain in force until January 1, 1900. This clause was adopted on January 24th by a vote of 204 to 140, and the bill as a whole received the approval of the House on February 1st, by a vote of 182 to 106—61 members not voting. When the result was announced by the Speaker, it was received with a burst of Democratic cheering, and Mr. Wilson was showered with congratulations by his followers and friends.

But after the bill reached the Senate, affairs took a decidedly different turn. The Democratic majority in the upper house was a very small one, and its close cohesion had already been destroyed, while there were many reasons why a tariff measure such as the Wilson Bill should encounter serious opposition there. These reasons may be indicated briefly as springing, first, from personal opposition to President Cleveland, and second, from the fact that the Senate, unlike the House, was controlled by powerful financial interests,

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which were ably represented on the floor. The personal animosity toward the President, which did not at once find open expression, was in part an inheritance from his first administration; in part a result of the masterful way in which he had forced the repeal of the Sherman Act; and to a large degree, it represented the traditional antagonism which most Senators entertain toward every President who has not had Congressional experience sufficient to make him understand and properly respect the usages, the prerogatives and the prejudices of the Senatorial body. . . .

It was something more than ominous that the Wilson Tariff Bill after passing the House by a majority of 76, and after having been referred by the Senate to its Finance Committee, should have been held back by that committee for almost two months. When reported (March 20th), it had been so clipt and trimmed as to exhibit a very curious metamorphosis. Yet in the open Senate the measure fared still worse. As might have been expected, the Republicans fell upon it tooth and nail; but acting in entire harmony with them, were certain Democratic Senators who seemed to have forgotten altogether the solemn pledges which their National Convention of 1892 had given to the country. Foremost among these were the blandly inscrutable Senator Gorman of Maryland, and the newly elected Senator Brice of Ohio. The two appeared upon the Democratic side of the Senate as the unavowed yet most efficient agents of the protected interests, and their object was plainly to modify and mutilate the Wilson Bill in such way as to deprive it of any real significance as meaning. . . .

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The action of the Senate upon the sugar schedule led to a most deplorable scandal. The House had put all sugar—both refined and raw—upon the free list, thereby giving governmental aid neither to the Sugar Trust nor to the domestic producer. The two Senators from Louisiana, however, having in mind their sugar-growing constituency, insisted that raw sugar must be taxed. Without their votes, the bill could probably not be carried at all, so close was the division. Furthermore, other Senators believed that such a duty was necessary as a revenue measure; since the funds in the Treasury were low, and the receipts from the income tax would not be available for many months. Hence, the Senate imposed a duty upon raw sugar of 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, equivalent to about one cent a pound. But a duty on raw sugar without a countervailing duty on refined sugar would have been a serious blow to the Sugar Trust. All the powerful influences at the command of this corporation were immediately brought to bear upon the Senate. Here was a direct issue between one of the most notorious of Trusts on the one side, and the purpose of crippling Trusts avowed by the Democracy on the other. The Democratic platform had spoken of "Trusts and combinations" as "a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes, which prevent . . . free competition." Would Democratic Senators, in the face of this declaration, impose a prohibitive tax at the bidding of a Trust whose monopoly controlled one of the necessities of life?

The debate upon the subject soon waxed hot. While it was in progress, ugly rumors began to fly abroad. The certificates of the Sugar Trust

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fluctuated in value every day, as the Senate seemed first favorable and then unfavorable to its interests. There was some difficulty about getting evidence; and in the end nothing was accomplished save to leave a taint upon the names of several Senators and to disgust the country with the whole tariff controversy. . . .

The Trust had its way. Refined sugar was taxed one-eighth of a cent a pound, with an additional duty of one-tenth of a cent on refined sugar imported from countries giving an export bounty. This tax, minutely insignificant tho it may appear, was ample to continue and confirm the Sugar Trust in its supremacy. The fractional duty of one-eighth of a cent a pound meant to the treasury of the Trust not less than \$20,000,000 of profit every year. After months of wearisome delay, with frequent scenes of disorder and indecorum, the Senate finally, on July 3d, allowed the mutilated tariff bill to pass, by a scant majority of five votes (39 to 34), with twelve Senators not voting.

The bill went back to the House for its concurrence. Mr. Wilson, rising in his place on July 7th, urged that as altered and amended, it be not passed. He spoke with force and eloquence, and then took the unusual step of reading to the House a personal letter address to him by the President on July 2d, anticipating the action of the Senate. It was an extraordinary letter, and the fact of its being read was still more extraordinary; for thus the Executive was made to criticize the action of one house of Congress in a letter practically written to be read before the other house. From a party point of view, a Democratic President was arraigning Democratic Senators before

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both Democratic and Republican Representatives. That President Cleveland should have permitted such a letter to be read at such a time has seemed to many the clearest possible evidence of his incompetency as a party leader. It was most certainly a gage of defiance to the Senate—a body already inimical to him. It violated to some extent the proprieties of executive courtesy toward a branch of the national legislature. It was certain to give the bitterest offense to Senators of his own party. . . .

The effect of it in the Senate was to seal irrevocably the fate of the Wilson Bill as a measure of true reform. Altho the President had named no names in his accusation of "party perfidy and dishonor," the shaft had gone unerringly to its proper mark. Senator Gorman, stung by those pungent words, brought the subject before the Senate, with a show of virtuous indignation. . . .

The House refused to concur in the Senate's amendments, and the bill was sent to a conference committee of both houses. In conference, the Senate's representatives refused to yield a single point. The House could take the bill precisely as it left the Senate, or the bill could fail, leaving the McKinley tariff still in force. In the end, the House was forced to accept the amendments in their entirety, and to pass the bill which Mr. Cleveland had stigmatized as involving "perfidy and dishonor."

The predicament of the President was a cruel one. He could not put his signature to such a measure. He could not veto it, and make the professions of his party utterly ridiculous. And so he let it become a law without his signature.

COXEY'S ARMY AND THE DEBS RAILWAY STRIKE

(1899)

BY HARRY THURSTON PECK¹

The slow progress of the Wilson Bill, prolonging as it did the feeling of uncertainty in the business world, had deprest all forms of industry. Thousands of men who had been thrown out of work in the summer and autumn of 1893 found themselves at the beginning of winter wholly destitute. Some of them had left their homes in the Eastern States and had gone to the Pacific Coast as railway builders. They now turned their faces homeward, intending to tramp the long distance, and to live upon the charity of the intervening towns and cities. These men were presently joined by others who were out of work, and finally by swarms of professional vagabonds and tramps. Through some curious psychological impulse, the notion of a general crusade of squalor spread all through the country; and from every quarter of the West and the Southwest, bands of ragged, hungry, homeless men appeared, fierce of aspect, and terrifying to the people of the hamlets and sparsely settled districts through which they passed. Theft, rape, and sometimes murder marked the

¹ From Peck's "Twenty Years of the Republic." By permission of the publishers, Dodd, Mead & Company. Copyright, 1906.

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trail of this new *jacquerie*, which had at first no conscious purpose, as it had no leader.

Both purpose and leader were presently provided. Three odd fanatics came to the front, and after a fashion took command of the roving bands. These three—Coxey, Kelly, and Frye—styling themselves “generals,” led the largest groups, which were now known as “armies of the unemployed,” and later as “Industrials” and “Commonwealers.” Coxey was the most conspicuous of the three. He had a definite plan of action. He organized what he styled the “Army of the Commonweal of Christ,” and with it he intended to march on Washington, to enter the Capitol and to overawe Congress into passing a law providing for the unemployed. His demand was that \$500,000,000 in irredeemable paper money should be issued, and that this sum should be spent in improving the public highways throughout the country. Such became at last the declared purpose of all the Commonwealers; and so the three “armies” began their march to Washington from different points—Coxey setting out from Massillon, Ohio, on March 25th, Frye from Los Angeles, California, early in April, and Kelly from San Francisco, on April 26th. . . .

Coxey and his followers straggled into Washington on April 28th. By that time their numbers had been reduced to about three hundred men. The mild spring weather had led most of the “army” to roam off as individuals into the pleasant country valleys, where they could bask in the sunshine and live by begging. On the first of May, however, Coxey marched his dwindling host into the grounds of the Capitol, bearing aloft some

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improvised banners of calico and paper muslin. But by this time public interest in the Industrials had waned. The joke had ceased to amuse. And, therefore, no particular notice was taken of Coxey until he and some of his "lieutenants" marched across the lawns, when the Capitol police at once arrested them for walking on the grass. Such was the farcical end of the Coxey crusade, which foreigners regarded as a dreadful menace to the Republic, but which terminated in a short jail sentence served for the violation of a local ordinance by the would-be Robespierre.

While, however, this pilgrimage of the Commonwealers was in itself of no importance, it did reveal a state of restlessness in the industrial world. This was soon to find expression in a tremendous struggle of organized labor against organized capital—a struggle of which the outcome was at last determined by the unprecedented action of Mr. Cleveland and his Attorney-General. It involved questions, both administrative, judicial, and constitutional, of far-reaching consequence.

In 1886, the capitalists who controlled or owned the twenty-four railways which then entered the city of Chicago, had formed a voluntary association known as the General Managers' Association.² This body had for its main purpose the effective and arbitrary control of all persons employed by the railways represented in the association. Wages were cut down according to a general agreement. Discharged workmen were "blacklisted," so that they could not easily get new employment. With no standing whatever in law, the Managers' Asso-

² It represented also some eighteen other railway corporations.

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ciation was establishing a complete control of the independence and even of the livelihood of thousands of railway employees.³ To offset this combination of the owners, the men had organized, in 1893, the American Railway Union. The two bodies, antagonistic as they were in their special interests, came into conflict early in 1894, over a question which did not in its origin directly concern either of them.

The Pullman Palace Car Company was not a railway corporation, but was engaged in manufacturing cars which it operated through written contracts with the railways. It was a highly prosperous concern, and Mr. Pullman, its president, had won much commendation from philanthropic sociologists for having built the pretty little village of Pullman, near Chicago, where employees of the company could at moderate rentals find houses that were clean, well lighted, and supplied with admirable sanitary arrangements. Lakes, parks, and well-kept streets made the place appear to be a poor man's paradise. On the other hand, those who lived in Pullman saw another side. Not many residents stayed there long. While they stayed, they seemed to be under a singular constraint. If they spoke of the company, they did so in a half-whisper, and with a furtive glance behind them very much "as a Russian might mention the Czar." Every one felt that he was spied upon, and that an incautious word might lead to his discharge and get his name upon the "black list."

In May, 1894, the Pullman Company dismissed a large number of its workmen. The wages of such

³ The number of men directly and indirectly employed was estimated in 1894 at more than 200,000.

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as were retained were lowered by some twenty per cent. Many were now employed for less than what was usually regarded as full time. A committee of employees waited upon Mr. Pullman to ask that the old wages be restored. Mr. Pullman refused this request, but promised that he would not punish any member of the committee for having presented the petition. This promise he apparently violated; for on the very next day three of the committee were discharged. Mr. Pullman, in fact, evidently regarded himself as a personage so sacrosanct as to make even a respectful petition to him a serious offense. Indignant at his action, five-sixths of his men went out on strike. Mr. Pullman promptly discharged the other sixth, who had remained faithful to his interests.

To justify the Pullman management, a general statement was given out on its behalf, that the close of the Columbian Exposition and the existing business depression had checked the demand for its cars; that it had been employing men at an actual loss; that it could not afford to continue them at work and at the old scale of wages. In reply to this, the fact was pointed out that while the wages of the men had been cut, the salaries of the officers remained as large as ever; and that rents in the town of Pullman had not been lowered. Moreover, the stock of the company was selling above par; its dividends for the preceding year on a capital of \$36,000,000 had been \$2,520,000, while it had a surplus of undivided profits amounting to \$25,000,000.

About 4,000 Pullman employees were members of the American Railway Union. In June, a convention of the union was held in Chicago, and this

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body took up the question of the Pullman strike, altho the men on strike were not railway employees at all. A committee of the union wished to confer with the Pullman management, but were not allowed to do so. The Civic Federation of Chicago, with the approval and support of the mayors of fifty cities, urged the company to submit the matter to arbitration. The company answered: "We have nothing to arbitrate." Then, on June 2d, the Railway Union, finding no settlement possible, passed a resolution to the effect that unless the Pullman Company should come to an agreement with its men before June 26th, the members of the Railway Union would refuse to "handle" Pullman cars. The company remained obdurate; and therefore, on the 26th, the Union fulfilled its promise. From that day on, all the roads running out of Chicago, no train to which Pullman cars were attached could move.

The president of the Railway Union was Mr. Eugene V. Debs.⁴ He had formerly been a locomotive engineer and afterward a grocer. Going into politics, he had served a term in the Indiana Legislature. He was a very shrewd, long-headed strategist. He understood the strength of his organization. He was equally well aware of the one weak point in all the great labor demonstrations of the past. The 150,000 men whom he controlled could, by acting together, completely para-

⁴Mr. Debs was born in Indiana in 1855. He was the candidate of the Social Democratic party for President in 1900, and ran for the same office in 1904 and 1908 as the candidate of the Socialist party. His popular vote in 1904 was 402,288. This being the year in which Alton B. Parker was the Democratic candidate, many radical Democrats voted for Debs.

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lyze the railway system centering at Chicago. Local public sentiment was, on the whole, favorable to the Pullman employees. That sentiment would, however, be alienated if violence and general disorder were to follow on the strike. It was vital that the Railway Union should employ no lawless means. . . .

The peaceable strike which was begun upon the 26th proved at once to be remarkably effective. Switchmen refused to attach Pullman cars to any train. When they were discharged for this, the rest of the train's crew left it in a lurch. By the end of the fifth day after the strike began, all the roads running out of Chicago were practically at a standstill. The Railway Managers' Association was facing absolute defeat. Its resources in the way of men were exhausted, and its trains could not be operated. Yet all this had been accomplished by peaceable means. There was no sign of violence or disorder. But the men who made up the Managers' Association were very able. They had at their command unlimited money, and legal advisers who could conceive daring plans. . . .

On July 1st, the roads were still paralyzed. Disorder had still for the most part been sporadic. There was no evidence that the local authorities were not fully competent to deal with the situation so far as the unruly elements were concerned. On the following day, however, on motion of the United States District-Attorney, Judge Woods issued a sweeping injunction forbidding the president of the Railway Union, Mr. Debs, and also its vice-president, secretary, and others, from interfering with the transportation of the mails and

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from obstructing interstate commerce. Mr. Walker also sent word to Washington that in his judgment, United States troops would be needed to enforce the order of the court. On that very day, President Cleveland ordered General Miles to Chicago, to assume personal command of the troops at Fort Sheridan. Mr. Walker seemed strangely insistent in his demand for troops and for their immediate use.

That same afternoon President Cleveland ordered Colonel Crofton, in command at Fort Sheridan, to enter Chicago with the entire garrison of infantry, artillery, and cavalry. This order was promptly carried out; and on the following morning the troops were in camp upon the lake front. Reinforcements were hurried to them, and General Miles had presently at his disposal a force of several thousand men. A brigade of State militia was also ordered to the city by the Governor at the Mayor's request.

The story of the next few days is one of perpetual disorder, controlled, however, or greatly lessened by the admirable work of the regular troops, whose cool firmness had that indescribable effect which discipline always exercises upon disorder. Yet there was much destruction of railway property, both within the city and near it; while the temper of the soldiers was often severely tried. The spirit of the mob grew more and more dangerous; and at last (on July 7th) General Miles issued an order to all officers in command of troops, directing them to fire upon persons engaged in overt hostile acts. Mr. Debs, whose prudence had begun to fail him, made an inflammatory address, in which he said:

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"The first shot fired by regular troops at the mobs here will be a signal for civil war. Bloodshed will surely follow."

Events moved quickly. On the following day the President issued a proclamation ordering all persons engaged in unlawful assemblages to disperse "on or before twelve o'clock noon of the ninth day of July instant." Those who disregarded the warning were to be viewed as public enemies. "There will be no vacillation in the decisive punishment of the guilty." On that same day, a mob at Hammond, Indiana, some twenty miles distant from Chicago, set upon several non-strikers, killing one and wounding four. Matters grew still more serious; and a detachment of regular troops, commanded by Major Hartz, was hurried to the Monon station. Under their protection, several trains were moved. This infuriated the mob, which, after exhausting every form of insult, began to shower the soldiers with missiles. The troops remained unmoved, awaiting orders. Emboldened by this apparent timidity, their assailants, who now numbered fully three thousand, made a wild rush, intending to overwhelm the compact company in blue. Major Hartz gave a sharp command, and the magazine rifles spurted fire into the yelling mob, drilling it through and through with bullets and strewing the ground with dead.

Coincidentally with these events, Judge Grosscup delivered a charge to a special Federal Grand Jury, which at once found indictments against Debs and three of his associates, the charge being one of conspiracy under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890. On July 10th, the four men were

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arrested and gave bail in \$10,000 each. On July 17th, the same men were brought before Judge Woods and were charged with contempt of court, in having disobeyed the injunction of July 2d. They refused to give bail upon this charge, and were sent to prison under guard.

This swift and stern action of the Federal Government broke the backbone of the strike, as Mr. Debs himself afterward admitted. The movement in which the Knights of Labor had also taken part, had spread over twenty-seven States and Territories and had affected the operation of 125,000 miles of railway. But everywhere it was dealt with in the same energetic manner whenever it obstructed the service of the mails; and after the arrest of Mr. Debs it died speedily away. On July 20th—less than a month after the general strike began—the United States troops left Chicago, their presence being no longer needed.

In the opinion of the Governor of Illinois, Mr. John P. Altgeld, their presence there had never been required. Mr. Altgeld was a Democrat of the Populistic type. In appearance, he resembled a typical German agitator—fanatical and intense. He had pardoned the Anarchists who were sentenced to imprisonment at the time of the Haymarket murders in 1886. Many persons regarded him as no better than an Anarchist himself, yet this judgment was too harsh. His sympathies were undoubtedly with the strikers, and he felt, with some reason, that the presence of Federal troops was essentially provocative. . . .

The serious constitutional question which the strike of 1894 brought into prominence concerned the judiciary rather than the executive. "Gov-

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ernment by injunction" was a phrase that now came into general use. The Interstate Commerce Law of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890 had both been framed with a view to checking the power of the corporations. Clever lawyers, however, had most ingeniously converted these two acts into instruments to protect the railway corporations against attack. If an engineer left his post, or if the crew of a train deserted it, this was held to be a conspiracy in restraint of commerce. A United States Circuit Court had issued a "blanket" injunction against all the employees of the Northern Pacific Road, forbidding them to strike. As to Mr. Debs and his associates, they had been enjoined from inciting men to strike. On December 14th they were brought before Judge Woods in Chicago, and sentenced—Debs to six months' imprisonment and the others to three months—for contempt of court. This extension of the enjoining power was contrary to the whole spirit and practise of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence as hitherto understood. By the new procedure, a judge defined in advance the nature of an offense, and by injunction forbade the commission of it by certain specified persons. If they disobeyed the injunction, they were brought before the judge and fined or imprisoned, not directly for the act itself, but for contempt of court. In this way the judge became also the accuser, and the accused lost the right of a jury trial. Many of the most conservative publicists in the East were alarmed by this alarming stretch of the judicial power. . . .

The action of Judge Woods in sentencing Debs was, however, sustained by a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court handed down on May 27,

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1895, and he served his term in prison. Yet it is to be noted that the indictments for conspiracy found against him in legal form by a Federal Grand Jury were afterward dismissed.

The report of a commission appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the origin of the great strike was full of deep significance. This commission found in the Railway Managers' Association an example of "the persistent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters." It found that neither the Railway Union, nor any general combination of railway employees had been planned until the railway managers had set the example.

THE FIRST BRYAN CAMPAIGN

(1896)

I

HOW BRYAN WAS NOMINATED

BY HARRY THURSTON PECK ¹

How completely the great majority of the delegates had cast away their old allegiances was made evident when the Democratic convention first assembled on July 7th, in a vast structure in Chicago, styled the Coliseum, under whose spreading roof of glass and iron fifteen thousand human beings were crowded together in the heat of a summer sun. The National Committee was still controlled by the conservative element of the party; and this committee now presented to the convention the name of Senator Hill,² of New York, as its selection for the temporary chairmanship. Both usage and etiquette required that their choice should be ratified by the delegates as a matter of ordinary courtesy. But not even for a temporary office would the majority accept an Eastern man who was also an opponent of free silver. A debate, remarkable for its bitterness, at once began: and in opposition

¹ From Peck's "Twenty Years of the Republic." By permission of the publishers, Dodd, Mead & Company. Copyright, 1906.

² David Bennett Hill had been elected Governor of New York in 1885, and again in 1888, and to the Senate in 1891. He died in 1910.

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to Mr. Hill, Senator John W. Daniel, of Virginia, an ardent silver advocate, was put in nomination, and was elected to the temporary chairmanship by the decisive vote of 556 to 349. A preliminary test of strength had now been made; and from this moment the silver men were exultantly aware of their supremacy. An eye-witness of the scene thus noted its significance: "The scepter of political power has passed from the strong, certain hands of the East to the feverish, headstrong mob of the West and South." During the debate, a delegate had casually spoken the name of President Cleveland. Many of the spectators at once rose to their feet and cheered; but it was an ominous circumstance that not a single delegate joined in the cheering, even those from New York remaining silent in their places. Mr. Altgeld,³ on the other hand, was greeted with yells of unrestrained delight.

Having won his victory, and having listened to an address by Senator Daniel, the convention adjourned until the following day. When it reassembled on the morning of July 8th, it was plain that the silver faction meant to use its power to the full. By a sweeping majority, the representation of each territory was augmented from two members to six. The delegation from Nebraska, which was pledged to support the gold standard, was unseated, and a contesting delegation of silver men, with Mr. William J. Bryan⁴ at its head, was ad-

³ John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, who pardoned three of the Haymarket anarchists. He died in 1904.

⁴ Mr. Bryan at this time had served two terms in Congress, where he had gained reputation as an orator of unusual power. He was only 36 years old.

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mitted to the convention. Four gold delegates from Michigan were rejected, and four silver delegates were substituted in their place, thus giving to the silver faction, under the unit rule, the solid vote of Michigan. Having effected these changes, all of which greatly increased the strength of the majority, Senator S. M. White, of California, was made permanent President of the convention. . . .

Contrary to all usage, the platform as reported by the majority contained no word of approbation for President Cleveland. More than that, it condemned every important policy with which he had been identified. It was, indeed, precisely what those who wrote it meant that it should be—a repudiation of him and of his administration. . . . The minority offered the following resolution as an amendment to the majority's report: "We commend the honesty, economy, courage and fidelity of the present Democratic administration."

At once Senator Tillman⁵ leapt upon the platform. To him the minority report, with its praise of President Cleveland, was like a red rag to a bull. He fronted the multitude, dark and savage-featured, his face flushed, his hair unkempt, "the incarnation of the mob, vengeful and defiant." There was a strange gleam in his one eye. When he began to speak, his fury rose to a fierce crescendo. He paced the platform like a madman, clenching his fists, hissing out his words, tossing his hands high above his head, and snapping his jaws together. So completely had passion mastered him, that much of what he said was unintelligible; but those who heard him gathered that he was denouncing Mr. Cleveland as "a tool of

⁵ Of South Carolina.

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Wall Street," a tyrant, and one who richly deserved to be impeached and driven from his high office.

Oddly enough, the vehemence of Mr. Tillman defeated its own object. Intense as was the feeling of the multitude to which he spoke, such raving did not touch its sympathies. Tho applause was given to him by many, in his violence he had overshot the mark. Senator Hil', who spoke in behalf of the minority report, failed in another way to meet the mood of the vast audience. His face was ashen white and his manner glacial. Mr. Hill entirely lacked the oratorical temperament. Wholly unimpassioned at all times, the emotion of those about him seemed to make him colder and still more unbending. "I am a Democrat," he began, "but I am not a revolutionist." Then he proceeded with a discourse that was wholly argumentative, an appeal to reason, which, if pronounced before a purely deliberative body, might well have carried conviction in its words. It was, however, no deliberative body that he now addressd, but a surging mass of men frantic with excitement, upon whom mere argument was thrown away.

He might as well have spoken to a cyclone; and when he took his seat, he knew that he had failed. Mr. Vilas,⁶ of Wisconsin, and Mr. Russell,⁷ of Massachusetts, who followed and supported Mr. Hill,

⁶ William F. Vilas, then Senator from Wisconsin. He had previously been Postmaster-General and Secretary of the Interior.

⁷ William E. Russell, the rising hope of the young Democracy of that time, who had been three times elected Governor of Massachusetts. He died suddenly in Nova Scotia shortly after the adjournment of the Chicago convention.

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were no less ineffectual. Weakness of voice, an evident consciousness of coming defeat, and an unpopular cause, all combined to make their efforts unavailing.

Until now there had spoken no man to whom that riotous assembly would listen with respect. But at this moment there appeared upon the platform Mr. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who came forward to reply to the three preceding speakers. As he confronted the twenty thousand yelling, cursing, shouting men before him, they felt at once that indescribable, magnetic thrill which beasts and men alike experience in the presence of a master. Serene and self-possessed, and with a smile upon his lips, he faced the roaring multitude with a splendid consciousness of power. Before a single word had been uttered by him, the pandemonium sank to an inarticulate murmur, and when he began to speak, even this was hushed to the profoundest silence. A mellow, penetrating voice that reached, apparently without the slightest effort, to the farthestmost recesses of that enormous hall, gave utterance to a brief exordium:

"I should be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened, if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity."

Mr. Bryan had in these three sentences already won his auditors. The repose and graceful dignity of his manner, the courteous reference to his oppo-

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nents, and the perfect clearness and simplicity of his language, riveted the attention of every man and woman in the convention hall. As he continued, it was with increasing earnestness and power. He spoke briefly of the issue which was there to be determined. He held it to be an issue based upon a vital principle—the right of the majority to rule and to have its firm convictions embodied in the declaration of the party. . . .

He spoke with the utmost deliberation, so that every word was driven home to each hearer's consciousness, and yet with an ever-increasing force which found fit expression in the wonderful harmony and power of his voice. His sentences rang out, now with an accent of superb disdain, and now with the stirring challenge of a bugle call.

"We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them! . . .

"If they dare to come out into the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!"

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The scene enacted in the convention, as Mr. Bryan finished speaking, was indescribable. Throughout the latter part of his address a crash of applause had followed every sentence; but now the tumult was like that of a great sea thundering against the dykes. Twenty thousand men and women went mad with an irresistible enthusiasm. This orator had met their mood to the very full. He had found magic words for the feeling which they had been unable to express. And so he had played at will upon their very heart-strings, until the full tide of their emotion was let loose in one tempestuous roar of passion, which seemed to have no end. When order was partially restored, the substitute resolutions offered by Senator Hill were rejected with cries of derision as were two other amendments afterward, proposed by him; and then the free-silver platform was adopted by a vote of 628 to 301. Having taken this action, the delegates, exhausted by the day's exciting scenes, adjourned until the following afternoon.

Over night, the question of the candidate to be nominated was earnestly discusst. It was evident that Mr. Bryan had suddenly leapt into a prominence which made him a formidable competitor for the highest honors. Before his address, no one had thought of him as a Presidential candidate. When the convention reassembled, and proceeded to the selection of a candidate, altho the first ballot showed Mr. Bland to have received 235 votes, Mr. Bryan came next with 119, the number necessary to a choice being 502. Thirteen other gentlemen received scattering votes. On the second and third ballots, both Mr. Bland's and Mr. Bryan's following was increased; but on the fourth,

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Mr. Bryan led with 280 to 241 for Mr. Bland. When the roll was called for the fifth time, Mr. Bryan lacked only 12 votes of a nomination, and at once 78 delegates changed their votes from other candidates to him, thereby making him the choice of the convention.

The action of the Chicago Convention was received in the West with immense enthusiasm, in the South with doubtful approbation, and in the East with anger and dismay. Over the offices of some Democratic newspapers flags were hoisted at half-mast. Many journals expressed strong disapproval. Not a few openly avowed their purpose of supporting the Republican candidates. The Western silver men were described by these papers as being really Populists who had stolen the name of Democrats. The gold delegates, returning from the scene of their defeat, set themselves to stimulate this feeling, where they did not take refuge in significant silence. "Are you still a Democrat?" an intimate friend asked of Senator Hill. "Yes," replied the Senator; "I am a Democrat still"; adding after a significant pause—"very still."

Naturally, the Republicans rejoiced at these evidences of Democratic dissension. It appeared for a few days as tho a victory over Mr. Bryan might be won almost without a struggle. But very soon this view was seen to be erroneous, and Mr. McKinley's managers perceived with genuine alarm that the contest was to be one of the fiercest ever fought in American political history. For tho in New England and New York, Mr. Bryan was certain to lose many votes, this loss would be offset by the thousands of ballots which would be cast

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for him by the "Silver Republicans" and by the Populists in the Western States. . . .

But with astonishing energy Mr. Bryan planned and carried out four long journeys through the country, speaking at every place of importance in the doubtful States. On a single one of these progresses he traveled more than twelve thousand miles, and was everywhere received by enormous gatherings and with intense enthusiasm. The funds for his campaign were slender. All the financial interests of the country were arrayed against him. His managers had no great sums to lavish in subsidizing newspapers, in circulating documents, in hiring bands, and in decorating whole cities with political banners. Mr. Bryan, in fact, fought single-handed against the party of wealth; yet tho almost alone, he made his foes strain every nerve to compass his defeat. It was estimated that not less than 5,000,000 persons heard him speak, and among them there were few who showed him anything that savored of discourtesy. . . .

It would, indeed, have been very difficult for any fair-minded person, after hearing Mr. Bryan, to feel aught but a sincere personal respect for him. The tone of all his speeches was most admirable. He dealt with principles alone and not with persons. Altho showered with abuse by the Republican and Gold Democratic newspapers, he never condescended to reply in kind; and for his chief political adversary he had only words of courteous consideration.

Very different from this was the treatment accorded Mr. Bryan by his adversaries. They could find nothing in his private life to censure; but they circulated absurd and absolutely baseless stories,

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besides misrepresenting the whole tenor of his political teaching. They profest to believe that he had once been a strolling actor; they denounced him as an anarchist and an enemy of public order. Some phrases in the Democratic platform relating to the income tax decision were so garbled as to make it appear that Mr. Bryan desired to abolish or discredit the Supreme Court. Thousands of men, women and children were led to think of him as the incarnation of riot, revolution and ruin.

The whole vast machinery of commerce, of business and of finance was set in motion to create a general impression that Mr. Bryan's success would mean disaster to every section of the American people. As the month of November drew near, capitalists resorted to the very effective device of giving large orders to manufacturers, on condition that these orders should be executed only in case of Mr. McKinley's election. In this way notice was served upon the artizans that if they voted for Mr. Bryan they would be voting to deprive themselves of work. Agents of some of the great insurance companies of New York and New England, which held mortgages upon Western farms, intimated to the mortgagors that, if Mr. McKinley were elected, the mortgages would be extended for five years at a low rate of interest. At the end of the week preceding the election, many employers of labor, in paying off their workmen, gave them notice that they could not return to work in the event of Mr. Bryan's success. The city banks brought to bear upon their country correspondents such powerful pressure as they could readily exercise; and these correspondents transmitted that pressure to their de-

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positors. In fact, the myriad influences which Mr. Hanna^{*} understood so well were all directed with astonishing effectiveness to the single end of defeating Mr. Bryan at any cost.

These means were doubtless more certain in their operation than the mere use of money; yet money, too, was spent with a profusion hitherto unknown even in American political campaigns. A member of the Republican Committee subsequently admitted that the campaign expenses of his party in 1896 amounted to not less than \$25,000 a day from August 1st until the eve of the election. This money came from capitalists and business men in general, and even from fiduciary institutions. . . .

The election was unexpectedly decisive. Before midnight on November 3d, it was known that Mr. Bryan had been defeated and that he would receive in the Electoral College only 176 votes to 271 for Mr. McKinley. He had carried all the Southern States except West Virginia; and had also received the votes of Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, while California and Kentucky had each given him one electoral vote. But the solid opposition of the East, the Northwest and the Middle West had overborne his loyal following in the more thinly settled mining and agricultural States. Yet Mr. Bryan had given the Republican party a shock of extreme severity. The extent of its fright may be measured by the

^{*} Marcus A. Hanna, who was chairman of the Republican National Committee, and afterward Senator from Ohio. He was closely identified with McKinley's administration, and died in 1904.

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ferocity with which its newspaper organs referred to Mr. Bryan even after the election. . . .

Mr. Bryan set an example of dignity and generous feeling which his newspaper assailants might well have tried to emulate. No sooner was the result of the election a certainty than he telegraphed to his successful rival a message of cordial congratulation, to which Mr. McKinley at once replied in terms of equal courtesy and personal good will.

II

MR. BRYAN'S REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN¹

The reminiscences of the campaign of 1896 form such a delightful chapter in memory's book that I am constrained to paraphrase a familiar line and say that it is better to have run and lost than never to have run at all.

I shall always carry with me grateful, as well as pleasant, recollections of the newspaper men with whom I was thrown. The first premonitory symptom of greatness about to be thrust upon me was noticed at the Clifton House shortly after my convention speech. Immediately after my return from the hall, a representative of a local paper asked me if I would have any objection to his sitting in my room. I replied, "No," and then innocently inquired why he wanted to sit there.

¹ From Bryan's "First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896." By permission of Mr. Bryan. Copyright, 1896.

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He informed me that his paper had sent him over to report anything of interest. In a few minutes another representative of the press dropt in upon the same mission, and then another until my room was full.

I found that they were prepared to minutely report circumstances which to me seemed trivial. The angle of inclination was noted as I lay upon the bed. I was given credit for using a paper to protect the bedclothes from my feet; the rabbit's foot given me as I left the convention hall was reproduced in the papers; the bulletins announced that Mrs. Bryan preserved her composure during the nominating scene, and when I remarked that I was glad she had done so, the world was at once permitted to share my joy. When, on Saturday night, we tried to steal away and have a Sunday's rest without our whereabouts being known, I found that five carriages followed ours, and the omnipresent news-gatherers interviewed us as we alighted. But they were a gentlemanly and genial crowd, and I soon learned to save myself much trouble by telling them the exact moment of rising and retiring, and by reporting in advance the things to be done and, in review, the things which had been done. . . .

The total number of miles traveled [during the campaign], as shown by the schedules, was about 18,000. I have no way of ascertaining the exact number of speeches made, but an estimate of 600 is not far from correct. It is difficult to make an estimate of the number of persons addressd. Mr. Rose, of the Associated Press, thought about 5,000,000 the total number in attendance at my meetings, while Mr. Oulahan, of the United Asso-

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ciated Presses, places the number at 4,800,000. This, of course, includes men, women, and children.

After leaving home, on September 9th, when I started on my long trip, up to November 3d, I had spent every day, excepting Sunday, in campaigning. So far as my physical comfort was concerned the greatest anxiety was expressed as to the condition of my throat. I tried a cold compress, and a hot compress, and a cold gargle and a hot gargle, and cough drops and cough cures and cough killers in endless variety and profusion, and, finally abandoning all remedies, found my voice in better condition during the latter days, without treatment, than it was earlier in the campaign. In all this travel there was but little delay and no accident of any consequence to any member of the party.

As we learn by experience, my experience may be of value to those who may hereafter be engaged in a similar campaign. I soon found that it was necessary to stand upon the rear platform of the last car in order to avoid danger to those who crowded about the train. I also found that it was much easier to speak from the platform of the car than to go to a stand, no matter how close. Much valuable time was wasted by going even a short distance, because in passing through a crowd it was always necessary to do more or less of handshaking, and this occupied time. Moreover, to push one's way through a dense crowd is more fatiguing than talking. Speaking from the car also avoided the falling of platforms, a form of danger which, all through the campaign, I feared more than I feared breaking down from overwork. A platform, strong enough ordinarily, was in dan-

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ger of being overtaxed when the crowd centered at one place in an endeavor to shake hands with the candidate.

The ratio of 16 to 1 was scrupulously adhered to during the campaign, and illustrated with infinite variety. At one place our carriage was drawn by sixteen white horses and one yellow horse; at any number of places we were greeted by sixteen young ladies drest in white and one drest in yellow, or by sixteen young men drest in white and one drest in yellow. But the ratio was most frequently represented in flowers, sixteen white chrysanthemums and one yellow one being the favorite combination. I was the recipient of lucky coins, lucky stones and pocket-pieces and badges and buttons. During the campaign I received gold-headed canes, plain canes, leather canes, thorn canes, and even a glass cane. Some were voted at church fairs, of a variety of denominations, some were taken from famous battle-fields, and one was made from the house in which Patrick Henry made his first speech. I received a silver Waterbury watch, presented by a Connecticut bimetallist (he thought it embarrassing for me to time myself with a gold watch while making a silver speech), two rings, one with a sixteen to one set and one made of a coin in circulation at the time of the first Christian emperor. I received four handsome live eagles, two from Telluride, Colo., and two from Burke, Idaho, and one stuffed eagle which had been killed in Nebraska. One of the prettiest souvenirs of the campaign was a watch-charm, emblematic of bimetallism—beautiful specimens of wire gold and wire silver being enclosed in crystal.

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It is impossible to chronicle all the evidences of kindly feeling given during the campaign; in fact the good will manifested and the intense feeling shown imprest me more than any other feature of the campaign. When the result was announced my composure was more endangered by the sorrow exhibited by friends than it was during all the excitement of the struggle. Men broke down and cried as they expressed their regret, and there rises before me now the face of a laboring man, of Lincoln, who, after he dried his tears, held out his hand from which three fingers were missing, and said: "I did not shed a tear when those were taken off." People have often lightly said that they would die for a cause, but it may be asserted in all truthfulness that during the campaign just closed there were thousands of bimetalists who would have given their lives, had their lives been demanded, in order to secure success to the principles which they advocated. Surely, greater love hath no man than this. . . .

The following morning we returned to Lincoln on an early train. The Bryan Home Guards met us at the depot and escorted me to the city clerk's office, where I made the affidavit required of those who fail to register, and then they accompanied me to the polling-places, where I deposited my ballot. Just as I was about to vote, one of the strongest Republicans of the precinct, then acting as a challenger for his party, suggested that as a mark of respect to their townsman they take off their hats. The suggestion was adopted by all excepting one. I relate this incident because, altho the compliment was somewhat embarrassing at the time, I appreciated it, as it showed the personal

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good will which, as a rule, was manifested toward me in my home city by those who did not agree with me on political questions. The Home Guards took me to the door of my house, where I thanked them for the consideration which they had shown, and the sacrifices which they made during the campaign.

When necessity no longer spurred me to exertion, I began to feel the effects of long continued labor and sought rest in bed. As soon as the polls were closed the representatives of the press, drawn by friendliness and enterprise, assembled in the library below to analyze the returns, while Mrs. Bryan brought the more important bulletins to my room—her face betraying their purport before I received them from her hand. As the evening progressed the indications pointed more and more strongly to defeat, and by eleven o'clock I realized that, while the returns from the country might change the result, the success of my opponent was more than probable. Confidence resolved itself into doubt, and doubt, in turn, gave place to resignation. While the compassionless current sped hither and thither, carrying its message of gladness to foe and its message of sadness to friend, there vanished from my mind the vision of a President in the White House, perplexed by the cares of state, and, in the contemplation of the picture of a citizen by his fireside, free from official responsibility, I fell asleep.

THE BLOWING UP OF THE "MAINE" IN HAVANA HARBOR

(1898)

A CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT¹

Havana, February 15.—The noise of a terrible explosion startled Havana at ten o'clock to-night. It was soon learned by the people who flocked to the water-front, whence the sound proceeded, that the explosion had occurred on the United States battle-ship *Maine* in the harbor. Definite particulars are not as yet ascertainable, but it seems cer-

¹ From dispatches to the New York *Sun* of February 17, 1898. By permission of The Sun Printing and Publishing Association. Copyright, 1898.

The nature of the explosion that wrecked the *Maine* long remained undetermined. Soon after it occurred, what is known as the Sampson board of inquiry reported in favor of an explosion from the outside. From that day the wrecked battle-ship lay in the water at Havana until 1911, when the work of taking her away began, and another board, called the Vreeland board, made a special examination of the wreck. This board rendered its report to the Secretary of the Navy on December 7th, when Secretary Meyer made the following statement as to the conclusions contained in it:

"The board finds that the injuries to the bottom of the *Maine* were caused by the explosion of a charge of a low form of explosive exterior to the ship between frames 28 and 31, strake B, port side. This resulted in igniting and exploding the contents of the six-inch reserve magazine, A-14-M, said contents including a large quantity of black powder. The more or less complete explosion of the contents of the remaining forward magazine followed. The magazine explosions resulted in the destruction of the vessel."

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tain that many persons on board the *Maine* were killed and wounded, and possibly the ship is so badly injured that she can not be saved. From the Spanish cruiser *Alfonso XII* boats were at once dispatched to the site of the *Maine* to render assistance. No explanation of the explosion is obtainable at this time. Whether one of the ship's magazines blew up, or bombs were placed beside her and set off by Spaniards is not known. Because of the excitement in the city the military authorities ordered troops to quarters, and the streets were filled with jostling crowds of excited citizens and soldiers.

Havana, February 16.—2 A. M.—By a miracle Captain Sigsbee and most of the officers of the *Maine* were taken off in safety, but one hundred of the crew, it is believed, were killed.* Many of the survivors were taken off by the boats of the Spanish cruiser *Alfonso XII*. At this moment the hull of the ship is burning, the flames illuminating the harbor and making a striking scene for thousands gathered on the water-front. It is apparent to observers on shore that the vessel is sinking rapidly to the bottom of the bay. The entire city is panic stricken.

Washington, February 16.—4 A. M.—Secretary Long has received this telegram from Captain Sigsbee:

"*Maine* blown up in Havana Harbor 9:40 P. M. and destroyed. Many wounded and doubtless more killed and drowned. Wounded and others on board Spanish man-of-war and Ward Line steamer. Send lighthouse-tenders from Key West

*The final count showed that 266 officers and men had lost their lives in consequence of the explosion.

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for crew and few pieces of equipment still above water. No one had other clothes than then upon him. Public opinion should be suspended till further report. All officers believed to be saved. Jenkins and Merritt not yet accounted for. Many Spanish officers, including representatives of General Blanco, now with me, and express sympathy.

"SIGSBEE."

Havana, February 16.—4 P. M.—Witnesses of the explosion that destroyed the *Maine* say that at the moment of concussion a vast mass was seen to rise to a great height. In the sudden and blinding light no one seems to have been able to discern the nature of this mass or whether it rose from beside the battleship or inside it. Up to this time there are reported 251 killed and 99 wounded. Immediately after the report small boats hurrying to the spot from all sides picked up twenty-eight wounded men struggling in the water. Of them six were on the point of succumbing when pulled in. They were taken on board the *City of Washington* and cared for. Not one of the wounded in the military hospital has died up to this hour, but the condition of several is precarious. The *Mascotte* will take to Key West some of the injured who are in condition to be moved. American vessels are expected at any moment to arrive for the purpose of rendering any assistance possible.

From the nature of the disaster and the testimony of the survivors it appears that the line of greatest force of the explosion was a little forward of amidships. It is there that the worst damage was done. The chief officers were either well aft or ashore. Thus they escaped unhurt.

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The seamen and marines by their position were forced to bear the brunt of the disaster, and the frightful mortality was almost wholly confined to them. One of the junior officers should have been on duty on the forward deck, and it may have been thus that Lieutenant Jenkins, who is missing, lost his life. It is also probable that Engineer Merritt, another missing man, was below on duty and went down with the ship. Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright, who was at first reported lost, is safe.

Five of the crew immediately after the explosion ran to the main ammunition storage-room with the idea that they might save that from explosion. None of them has since been heard of. It is almost certain that they went to the bottom, ready at their posts for duty. Captain Sigsbee, perfectly cool throughout all the excitement which followed the explosion, gave directions for looking after the sinking battle-ship and caring for the wounded.

The great battle-ship, it is thought, will be a total loss. Captain Sigsbee himself acknowledged as much. Directly after the explosion she took fire and burned so fiercely that it was only by exercising great haste that the survivors were able to escape from the ship. Altho there was great confusion on the ship after the explosion, perfect discipline was maintained. All reports agree on this point. Captain Sigsbee himself was largely responsible for this state of affairs.

It was between 9:45 and 10 o'clock last night that the explosion occurred. Captain Sigsbee was below at the time, but with the report of the explosion he rushed up on deck in his shirt-sleeves.

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Thus attired he gave his orders. Efforts were at first made to save the vessel, but when Captain Sigsbee realized the extent of the damage done and that many casualties had occurred, he bent all his energies to assuring the safety of his men. The report was heard in the city, and crowds immediately flocked to the harbor-front. Flames at that time were bursting from the battle-ship. The greatest excitement prevailed among those on shore.

Captain Sigsbee did not leave his sinking ship till every man had been taken off, and he remained in a boat in the neighborhood as long as there was any hope of saving any of the men who were in the water. He says he has not the slightest idea what caused the accident. He was thrown from his bed^a by the explosion, and his head was slightly bruised, but otherwise he received no injury. The first thing he did was to go on deck and order the flooding of the large quantity of guncotton on board. The order was promptly carried out, and it is certain that no damage was done.

Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright was also in his room when the explosion occurred. He speaks in the highest terms of the coolness with which Sigsbee and the other officers faced the terrible situation. No sooner had two or three of the officers appeared on deck than an order was given to lower the boats. Four of them were immediately lowered and three were filled with men, but the fourth boat was swamped before it could be utilized. When the explosion occurred Lieutenant Blandin had charge of the deck.

^a Captain Sigsbee was not in bed at the time, but was sitting at a table in the admiral's cabin.

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A large part of the crew were in their quarters, and they were not able to get out, but went down with the ship, which sank bow first about 2,000 feet from Fort Atares. Captain Sigsbee, in all his comments to-day, has been very careful not to accuse any one of causing the explosion. All he will say is that a careful investigation will be made, and it will probably determine whether interior or exterior causes produced the disaster.

Washington, February 16.—Washington is in a state of painful excitement to-night. The city has been all day a hotbed of startling reports and sensational rumors. Public business in Congress and in the executive departments was almost at a standstill because of the awful disaster in the harbor of Havana. Officially the nation is in mourning, and social events scheduled to take place at the White House have been indefinitely postponed. No such appalling events of the sea has occurred since her Majesty's battle-ship *Victoria* was sunk a few years ago by her sister-ship, the *Camperdown*, in the Mediterranean. The commanding officer went down with the ship, and 22 officers and 336 sailors with him.⁴

Technically the *Maine* was in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace to a friendly government. As a matter of fact, she was there for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens threatened by the repeated riotous demonstrations of Spaniards enflamed against the people of the United States because of their sympathy with the people of Cuba, who are struggling to be free. The vessel was blown up in

⁴The date of this disaster was June 22, 1898.

THE BLOWING UP OF THE "MAINE"

the dead of night by some unseen force in some inexplicable manner. That is all that is known now and probably all that will be known until the board of inquiry,* appointed to-day, makes its investigation and submits a report.

In the meantime theories are thick as autumn leaves. Few of the higher officials of the administration and of the leaders in the Senate and House are willing to admit that they see the evidence of Spanish treachery in this tragedy that has followed a long chain of dramatic incidents connected with the controversy between Spain and the United States over the Cuban question. In their hearts there is grave fear and dark suspicion. But the consequences of fastening the guilt upon Spain would be so serious and the retaliation so prompt and severe that they hesitate to make public the existence of their misgivings. President McKinley, therefore, has allowed the impression to go abroad that he believes the calamity for which the nation mourns to be due to an inscrutable act of Providence, and his words are reechoed by his Secretary of the Navy and other Cabinet advisers. They would be only too glad if they felt their utterance to be sincere. They desire, above all things, to have the American public suspend judgment until the facts can be ascertained.

* The Sampson Board, which reported that the explosion had come from outside.

THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

(1898)

BY ADMIRAL DEWEY, COMMANDER OF THE FLEET¹

The *Boston* and *Concord* were sent to reconnoiter Port Subio, I having been informed that the enemy intended to take position there. A thorough search of the port was made by the *Boston* and *Concord*, but the Spanish fleet was not found, altho from a letter afterward found in the arsenal, it appears that it had been their intention to go there.

¹From Dewey's official report. The Battle of Manila Bay occurred on May 1, 1898.

Since the blowing up of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, matters leading to war with Spain had moved rapidly. An ultimatum was finally sent to Spain on April 20th, in which April 23d was made the last date on which a satisfactory reply would be received. This was virtually a declaration of war, altho the formal declarations were not made until April 24th and April 25th. The first gun in the war came from the United States ship *Nashville*, which fired across the bows of a Spanish merchantman named *Buena Ventura*. On April 27th three vessels of the navy under command of Admiral Sampson bombarded Matanzas, Cuba.

Admiral Dewey, then a commodore in Chinese waters, commanding the Asiatic squadron, was at once ordered "to proceed to the Philippine Islands; commence operations at once against Spanish fleet; capture vessels or destroy." He entered the Harbor of Manila on April 30th, under cover of darkness, having as his ships the *Olympia*, *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Boston*, *Concord*, *Petrel*, *Hugh McCulloch*, and two colliers, comprising altogether 118 guns and 1,678 men. The Spanish fleet of ten ships was armed with 120 guns and had 1,796 men, and was supported by land batteries.

THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

Entered the Boca Grande, or south channel, at 11:30 P. M., steaming in column at distance at 8 knots. After half the squadron had passed, a battery on the south side of the channel opened fire, none of the shots taking effect. The *Boston* and *McCulloch* returned the fire. The squadron proceeded across the bay at slow speed, and arrived off Manila at daybreak, and was fired upon at 5:15 A. M. by three batteries at Manila, and two at Cavite, and by the Spanish fleet anchored in an approximately east and west line across the mouth of Bakor Bay, with their left in shoal water in Canacao Bay.

The squadron then proceeded to the attack, the flagship *Olympia*, under my personal direction, leading, followed at distance by the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Petrel*, *Concord*, and *Boston*, in the order named, which formation was maintained throughout the action. The squadron opened fire at 5:41 A. M. While advancing to the attack, two mines were exploded ahead of the flagship, too far to be effective. The squadron maintained a continuance and precise fire at ranges varying from 5,000 to 2,000 yards, countermarching in a line approximately parallel to that of the Spanish fleet. The enemy's fire was vigorous, but generally ineffective.

Early in the engagement two launches put out toward the *Olympia* with the apparent intention of using torpedoes. One was sunk and the other disabled by our fire and beached before an opportunity occurred to fire torpedoes. At 7 A. M. the Spanish flagship *Reina Christina* made a desperate attempt to leave the line and come out to engage at short range, but was received with such galling fire, the entire battery of the *Olympia*

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being concentrated upon her, that she was barely able to return to the shelter of the point. The fires started in her by our shell at this time were not extinguished until she sank.

At 7:35 A. M., it having been erroneously reported to me that only 15 rounds per gun remained for the 5-inch rapid-fire battery, I ceased firing and withdrew the squadron for consultation and a redistribution of ammunition, if necessary. The three batteries at Manila had kept up a continuous fire from the beginning of the engagement, which fire was not returned by this squadron. The first of these batteries was situated on the south mole head at the entrance to the Pasig River, the second on the south bastion of the walled city of Manila, and the third at Malate, about one-half mile farther south. At this point I sent a message to the Governor-General to the effect that if the batteries did not cease firing the city would be shelled. This had the effect of silencing them.

At 11:16 A. M., finding that the report of scarcity of ammunition was incorrect, I returned with the squadron to the attack. By this time the flagship and almost the entire Spanish fleet were in flames, and at 12:30 P. M., the squadron ceased firing, the batteries being silenced and the ships sunk, burned, and deserted.

I am happy to report that the damage done to the squadron under my command was inconsiderable. There were none killed, and only 7 men in the squadron very slightly wounded. Several of the vessels were struck and even penetrated, but the damage was of the slightest, and the squadron is in as good condition now as before the battle.

THE BATTLE OF SANTIAGO—LAND AND SEA

(1898)

BY ANDREW S. DRAPER¹

About May 11th the Spanish flotilla was definitely reported at the French island of Martinique, and shortly afterward at the island of Curacao, just north of Venezuela. While Sampson was returning from his hunt for Cervera at Porto Rico, the Spaniard was sailing due northwest for Santiago de Cuba, which he reached on May 19th. His arrival at Santiago was not known by the Americans with certainty for several days. While Sampson kept guard near Key West, Commodore Schley with the "flying squadron," was watching the harbor of Cienfuegos on the southern coast of Cuba, where Cervera was reported to be hidden.

¹From Draper's "The Rescue of Cuba." By permission of the publishers, Silver, Burdett & Company. Copyright, 1899. The author is now the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York.

Since Dewey's victory at Manila on May 1, the mobilization of land forces had gone forward rapidly in the United States. On May 25th a second call for volunteers was made, the first call having been for 125,000, the second for 75,000, and camps of instruction were established at Tampa and Chickamauga. The navy was watching the seacoast in southern waters, a combined attack on Cuba by land and naval forces being in contemplation. Meanwhile, there was uncertainty as to where the Spanish fleet of four cruisers and three torpedo-boat destroyers under Admiral Cervera might be. It had sailed from St. Vincent, in the West Indies, on April 29th, and was not discovered until May 29th, when Admiral Schley saw it at anchor in the Bay of Santiago.

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At last his hiding-place at Santiago was discovered, and on May 28th, Schley, with his flag-ship the *Brooklyn*, accompanied by the *Massachusetts*, the *Texas*, the *Iowa*, the *Marblehead*, the *Minneapolis*, the *Castine*, the torpedo-boat *Dupont*, and the auxiliary cruiser *St. Paul*, the coaling-ship *Merrimac*, and others, arrived off Santiago; and the next day they were able to look through the narrow neck of the bottle-shaped harbor and to see the enemy's ships lying safely at anchor behind the frowning fortifications and the network of submarine torpedoes.

To verify fully the assurance that all the Spanish vessels were there, Lieutenant Victor Blue, of the navy, made a daring and famous reconnaissance. He landed and, at the greatest risk, climbed the hills, counted the enemy's ships, and returned with the report that the five cruisers and two torpedo-boats were actually imprisoned in the bay.

In a few days Rear-Admiral Sampson, with the flagship *New York*, and the battleship *Oregon*, the cruiser *New Orleans*, and several auxiliary vessels and torpedo-boats, reenforced Commodore Schley and took command of the fleet that was keeping Cervera "bottled" in Santiago.

Lieutenant Hobson took the coaling-ship *Merrimac* by night beneath the guns of the forts, and while under the most terrible fire from both shores, endeavored to anchor his ship in the narrow channel, to sink her by his own hand, in order to leave her a wreck to block the Spanish ships if they should attempt to escape. That the *Merrimac* was not sunk at the precise spot intended was due to the rudder being shot away. When morning came he and his six companions who had volunteered for

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the enterprise were, as by a miracle, alive and unhurt, clinging to a raft. The fact that the attempt to close the harbor was not fully successful does not detract from the sublime heroism of the men.

The situation now was this: The Spanish fleet was indeed besieged; it might dash for liberty, but, in the face of such a superior and vigilant force, it would have but little chance. On the other hand, the besiegers were unable to reach it so long as it chose to remain in its haven; the narrow channel was a network of submarine mines which would sink the first vessel that entered; and the lofty forts on the cliffs above could at such close range pour down an annihilating torrent of shells upon the thin decks of the attacking ships, which, at that nearness, could not lift their guns sufficiently to silence the batteries. Their elevation was so great that successive bombardments, tho they damaged, did not destroy, the batteries.

Nevertheless, until they were destroyed or captured it was evident that the ships could not advance into the channel to clear it of its sunken torpedoes. The aid of the army was therefore necessary. A force by land was required to capture the harbor forts, so that the battle-ships might steam in and engage the Spanish fleet. Accordingly, General Shafter was ordered to take his troops, land near Santiago, and capture the forts.

Before he started, however, the navy, on June 10th, made a landing. It was the first permanent foothold gained by Americans on Cuba. Under the protection of the guns of the *Oregon*, the *Marblehead*, and the *Yosemite*, six hundred marines landed at Guantanamo Bay, in command of Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Huntington. Their landing

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was stoutly resisted by the Spaniards. All day and all night the fighting continued, as the little band desperately defended their camp from the continuous and encircling volleys. Here were the first American lives lost on Cuban soil. But, in spite of their severe losses, the marines held the flag where they had planted it.

General Shafter's expedition started on June 14th.² Thirty-five transports carried sixteen thousand men. They went under the protection of fourteen armed vessels of the navy. The battleship *Indiana* led the way. Six days later they came in sight of Morro Castle at the entrance to the bay of Santiago, and soon they heard the cheers from the battle-ships on duty there.

On the second morning thereafter, the battleships shelled the shore at four different points along the forty miles of coast in order to mislead the Spaniards; and then at nine o'clock the signal was given for all the troops to go ashore as quickly as possible at Daiquiri, sixteen miles east of the entrance to Santiago Harbor and twenty-four miles west of Guantanamo, where the marines were still maintaining the flag they had planted.

In a moment the water was covered with small boats. Men jumped overboard and swam to shore in their eagerness to be first upon the land. Soon the beach was black with American soldiers. The Spaniards had fled in haste, leaving their camp

²The fleet of transports with 819 officers and 15,000 enlisted men on board, Major-General Shafter in command, sailed from Tampa. Shafter's instructions were to "capture the garrison at Santiago and assist in capturing the harbor and fleet." He arrived off Guantanamo on June 29th, and on June 22d effected a landing at Daiquiri, and later one at Sibony.

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equipment, and in some cases their breakfasts, behind them. Then the unloading of the transports began. Men with little or no clothing upon them went to and fro, between the ships and the shore, carrying arms and supplies. The artillery was landed at the one little wharf of an iron company. The horses and mules were pushed overboard and left to swim ashore; tho some of them swam out to the open ocean and could not get back.

In a short time four men were seen climbing the mountain-side hundreds of feet above the level of the sea. Soon the tiny figures were attracting the attention of the crowd. They were making for the blockhouse at the highest peak. They could be seen to stop and look into the fort for a moment; then to reach the house. Directly "Old Glory" appeared waving against the sky. In an instant every steam whistle in the great fleet, for miles around, was shrieking, and every man on the decks and in the rigging of the ships, in the water and on the shore, were shouting for the flag of freedom and for what it represented and proclaimed. The little army was stretched out upon the shore, and that night its camp-fires sparkled for miles against the black background of the hills.

The advance upon Santiago was begun immediately. General Shafter understood clearly that he had more to fear from climatic sickness than from the enemy's bullets, and determined to finish the fight with the greatest rapidity possible. Consequently he did not wait for the unloading of all his supplies, but pushed his men forward over the mountain paths with only such outfit as they could carry on their backs, intending to follow them closely with the heavy artillery and baggage.

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But he was not aware of the true condition of the roads. There were no roads. What were called such on the maps were at best only bridle-paths, and more often mere mountain trails. These trails passed over rocks, fallen timber, through swamps, and over bridgeless streams. The soldiers, as soon as they began to march, found themselves an army of mountain-climbers. The sun burned in the breathless glades like a furnace. It was the rainy season, and each day showers of icy coldness would pour down for hours; and when the rain ceased the sun would beat down more fiercely than before, while the humidity was almost insupportable. Sun-baked paths suddenly became mountain torrents; at one hour the men were suffocated with the fine dust, the next hour they were wading in mud above their gaiters. Strange insects buzzed about them, and they were followed by an army of disagreeable attendants with which they soon became familiar—clattering land-crabs, the scavengers of the country. The progress of the troops was a crawling rather than a march.

The Spaniards withdrew as our soldiers advanced. Most of our men never had heard a gun fired in battle, but now they expected the conflict to begin at any time. There was no trepidation; they made little noise lest they might not get near the enemy. But if the army moved slowly, events moved rapidly. On the second day, even before the whole army was ashore, the first battle with loss of life occurred. The troops were advancing by different paths to take position on the line of battle that was to surround the city. Near the center was the First Regiment of United States Volunteer Cavalry, called the "Rough Riders."

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This regiment of cowboys and ranchmen, with a sprinkling of college youths and young men of wealth and social distinction, was commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. The former had been a surgeon in the regular army with military training in Western campaigns on the plains. The latter was one of the best-known young men in the republic; famous for his courageous honesty in politics and for his patriotic energy in civil administration. He had resigned the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy to organize this unique and picturesque regiment under the command of his friend, Colonel Wood.

The Rough Riders had left their horses in Florida because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of open ground in Cuba. As they were threading their way on foot over the hills, their trail joined that of the regulars at the place called Guasimas. There they received a sudden volley from the enemy concealed in the thick glades, but they held their ground and returned the fire. They were unable to see their foes, whose smokeless powder gave no trace of their location; but through the tall grass and brush they steadily pushed on in the face of the dropping death, firing with calm precision. One after another of the Riders dropt dead or grievously wounded, but these young men, who never had been under fire, no more thought of turning back than a college team at a football game. Their colonels handled carbines like the men, and were at every point in the line they had deployed through the brush.

Soon they were joined by the colored regulars, and then they fought together. Among the Rough

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Riders and the regulars engaged there were about one thousand men, and they were fighting four thousand Spaniards.

The wounded that could walk were urged to go to the rear, but most of them refused; and, sitting at the foot of the trees, continued their deadly marksmanship at any sign of the Spanish. When there was an opening in the glades the men crouched and crawled toward the enemy; when there was a little protection of trees, they dashed forward, firing as they went. The Spaniards did not understand this kind of fighting. According to *their* rules, after such murderous volleys as they had poured into the Americans, their enemy should have fallen back. Instead of this, as one of the Spanish prisoners said, "They kept pushing forward as if they were going to take us with their hands."

After two hours of this fighting, under the unfaltering advance and accurate fire of the Americans, the Spanish volleys became fewer and less effective. Then the Spaniards broke and ran. When the battle was over, the American soldiers had lost sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded, but they were two miles nearer Santiago than when they met their first fire.

It had been a strange battle, appealing peculiarly to the patriotic pride of the American people. On that day, college men and the bronzed cowboys of the plains, millionaires and negroes, all were standing upon the common level of American citizenship, true brothers in devotion to duty; and there were no differences in courage or manliness. . . .

The city of Santiago is so located, at the head

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of its long harbor, that a complete line of investiture would stretch from the seacoast on the east to a point near the head of the harbor on the west of the city—a line resembling a huge fishhook. At the northern end of this line, where the shank of the hook begins to turn into the curve, and about four miles northeast from Santiago, is the suburb of El Caney; one mile east of El Caney is San Juan. The hills of El Caney and San Juan each slope rather sharply to the eastward, the direction from which our troops were coming. Between the foot of these ridges and the woods is open country. To march across this open is difficult because of gulleys, winding streams, thick grass, and low bushes. . . .

A general advance along the whole length of the American line was begun in the afternoon of June 30th. General Lawton's division was to attack El Caney. General Kent's division, with General Wheeler's division of dismounted cavalry, was to move against San Juan. On the morning of July 1st General Lawton's division was in the shape of a half-circle around El Caney. At five o'clock in the morning the advance on the town was begun.

At sunrise the Spanish flag was run up its staff, and immediately the American guns opened fire. At first the shells brought no answer, but soon the enemy's artillery began to drop shells into the American lines with unexpected accuracy, while from the trenches and the loopholes of the stone fort and of the fortified houses the infantry poured at the American position a sweeping and effective fire. The battle lasted all day. Men were dying on every side. One journalist who was with the

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command counted twenty-five dead in an hour. The officers advised and steadied the men, who were no less heroic than themselves; yet many officers disdained to crouch as they compelled their men to do, and, as conspicuous targets, they were dropping in large numbers. For most of these soldiers it was their first battle; yet there was no evidence of panic, nor was a single act of cowardice observed. The foreign military attachés who were present were astounded at the steadiness of these soldiers, who were receiving their first baptism of fire. . . .

At half-past three the broken and bushy ground had been crossed and the Americans were facing the trenches. The order was passed down the line for a general rush. With a roaring cheer the regiments leapt to their feet and dashed at the hill. They did not go in ranks—scarcely in companies. It was a race to reach the trenches and to swarm around the fort.

Captain Haskell, of the Twelfth Infantry, was conspicuous in the rush, his long white beard streaming back like the plume of Henry of Navarre. Officers and men dropt in appalling numbers in the gusts of death. But no force was able to check that charge. Prying down the barbed-wire fences, cheering with that thunderous yell which only Americans can give, they closed over the trenches, which were found filled with dead men. In a moment more the blue uniforms were seen around the fortifications on the hilltop; the barricaded doors were broken in and holes were made in the roofs. But the Spaniards had finished their fight. The barricaded streets of El Caney offered little resistance. A few shots more, and

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the town was in the hands of the exhausted but jubilant Americans.

Superb in this charge were the colored soldiers of the Twenty-fourth Regiment. The officers of the regular army say that no better soldiers ever wore a uniform, and prisoners taken from the fort at El Caney insisted that the colored troops were nine feet tall and could strangle them with their fists. At half-past four the American troops had possession of the town. . . .

After taking El Caney the American outposts were at once pushed forward beyond the town, and also within rifle-shot of the entrenchments of San Juan. While the Battle of El Caney was going on, the troops there engaged could hear the roar of the guns of El Poso, which had opened on San Juan on their left, about three miles south. El Poso is a hill about a mile and a half from the hill of San Juan. This hill is just outside of the city of Santiago, directly to the east. Looked at on its eastern side it appears like a sharp bluff. On top was a low farmhouse with broad eaves. This had been turned into a fortification by the Spanish, as had also a long shed near by. East of this farmhouse, near the edge of the hill, were long rows of Spanish trenches; back of the farmhouse, toward Santiago, was a dip in the ground, and on the rise toward the city were more trenches. Barbed-wire fences were everywhere.

Looking eastward from the bluffs of San Juan Hill is a meadow one-third of a mile in width, before one reaches the brush and trees of the forest. This meadow, in the main, is a tangle of high grass, broken by scattered trees and barbed-wire fences. A little to the northeast from San Juan:

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is a shallow duck-pond, and just beyond this water is a low hill which, from its great sugar-kettles on top, the Americans called Kettle Hill. Beyond the rolling meadow are the woods, broken by swift winding streams; through this timber come the irregular, mountainous trails from Siboney, along which the troops had toiled, and on either side of which they had bivouacked for several days. . . .

From the high hill of El Poso, Captain Grimes's battery began firing early in the morning at the trenches and the fortified farmhouse. But its old-fashioned powder enveloped it in smoke after each discharge, and it was at least a minute before a second aim could be taken, while its cloud of smoke made it a conspicuous target for the Spaniards; therefore it soon ceased firing and took a new position nearer the enemy.

There was a steady march of wounded men toward the rear; motionless dead were everywhere. Fainting under the heat of the sun and in the suffocation of the tall grass on the sides of the road, men were at the extremity of their endurance, with lolling tongues and staring eyes. At last endurance was no longer possible. There were no general orders to advance, for the brigade commanders knew that they had been ordered into this position, and they had received no orders from headquarters to leave it.

Then the colonels and captains took the matter into their own hands. Somehow, about noon, a forward movement began. Conspicuous among the leaders were General Hawkins and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt. Soldiers fell in behind any officers who would lead. Lieutenant Ord, who fell dead at the top of the hill, shouted as he started,

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"All who are brave, follow me." Each officer rallied all the men he could reach.

There was little regard for regimental formation. They did not run fast, for the grass was too thick and the obstacles were too sharp; yet they panted forward through the tall grass, through the morass, and up the steep hill, aiding one another and pulling themselves up by the bushes. They reserved their own fire until they were so close to the trenches that they could see the whites of their enemies' eyes, and then they aimed with such accuracy that in a few moments not a living Spaniard was left in the entrenchments. Then they rushed against the blockhouse; presently that fortification ceased to spit its fire, its garrison was dead, and the Stars and Stripes were waving over its spreading roof. The Spanish commander-in-chief, General Linares, had fallen wounded, and the few surviving defenders of San Juan were running toward Santiago. It was estimated that seventy per cent. of the Spanish in the trenches and the blockhouse had fallen. This was not a battle where strategy had won; generalship had seemed to fall to pieces; it was the unconquerable nerve of the individual soldier that had triumphed. . . . When night fell on July 1st, the American army had won two victories. But the cost had been terrible. Two hundred and thirty men had been killed and twelve hundred and eighty-four were wounded. Many were missing. In other words, out of the attacking forces at El Caney and San Juan, every sixth man had fallen.

That Sunday afternoon General Chaffee, riding along the front of his brigade, said to Colonel O'Brien and Major Brush of the Seventeenth In-

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fantry: "Gentlemen, we have lost all we came for; the game has flown; the Spanish fleet is forty miles away on the high seas." Indeed, that Sunday morning was a fateful hour in the history of the world's contest for freedom. While the army behind the city of Santiago held the ground they had gained at such cost, and waited for the next onset, knowing how serious it must be, the battle-ships and cruisers in Admiral Sampson's squadron were riding at the mouth of Santiago Bay—waiting and hoping for the moment when the trying routine of watching would be dropt for the roar and dash of a great naval engagement.

There was the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*, capable of twenty-one knots an hour, with Commodore Schley, the second officer in the squadron, on board—the same Schley who years before took out of the Arctic snows the dying survivors of the Greely expedition and brought them home. There was the fine battle-ship *Oregon*, fresh from her long journey of fifteen thousand miles from Puget Sound, around Cape Horn, and her sister-ship the *Indiana*, both with their eighteen-inch walls of steel, and thirteen-inch guns which throw a projectile five miles. Every charge in these guns requires more than five hundred pounds of powder; every shell weighs more than half a ton; and every discharge, at the pressure of an electric button, costs five hundred and sixty dollars. There was the battle-ship *Texas*, called a "hoodoo" because of her many misfortunes, but afterward famous for her brilliant work. There was also the battle-ship *Iowa* with "Fighting Bob" Evans in command. In the neighborhood was the battleship *Massachusetts*, as well as other cruisers, torpedo-boats, and ocean

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liners and pleasure yachts converted into ships of war.

The commander of the fleet, Rear-Admiral Sampson, was absent for the first time in many weeks. Under the orders of President McKinley, and knowing the extremity in which the army was placed, he had steamed a few miles east with the flagship *New York*, to confer with General Shafter, and, if possible, afford relief. He had repeatedly said, "If I go away, something will happen."

At about half-past nine, just as the bugle sounded for service upon the *Texas*, the navigator on the forward bridge of the *Brooklyn* called out through his megaphone: "After bridge there! Report to the commodore and the captain that the enemy's ships are coming out." At the same instant the boom of a gun on the *Iowa* attracted attention, and a string of little flags up her rigging signaled: "The enemy's ships are escaping to the westward."

In an instant, on every vessel, all was commotion where a moment before had been perfect order. But even the excitement showed absolute system, for with a rush every man in all the crews was in his place for battle, every vessel was moving up, and every gun was ready for action. From the warning of the lookout to the boom of the guns the time was less than three minutes.

The *New York* was just ready to land Rear-Admiral Sampson at a point seven miles east of Morro Castle. In twenty minutes he would have been riding over the hills to the headquarters of the army. But the leap of the ships was seen and the flag-ship was put about and started under highest steam for the fray.

The Spanish flag-ship, the *Maria Teresa*, thrust

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her nose out of the opening and was followed by the other armored cruisers, the *Vizcaya*, *Cristobal Colon*, and *Almirante Oquendo*, and the torpedo-boat destroyers *Pluton* and *Furor*. The vessels were from eight hundred to twelve hundred yards apart, and occupied from twelve to fifteen minutes in passing the cape at the mouth of the harbor. As they did so they turned to the west, most of the American ships being just then a little to the east of the entrance.

As the Spanish cruisers came in range they opened their batteries upon the Americans, but continued to fly westward with all the speed they could make. The two torpedo craft made directly for the *Brooklyn*. As the American ships closed up, the shore batteries on both sides of the opening began a heavy fire.

The guns of the American fleet opened with terrific effect at the first moment of opportunity. The *Brooklyn* realized in an instant that it was to be a chase, and that she was to lead it. She steamed at the Spanish flag-ship and at the *Vizcaya* at full speed. She had been a rival of the *Vizcaya* at Queen Victoria's Jubilee the year before. The *Iowa* and the *Texas* rained their great shells upon the enemy with fearful effect.

The little converted yacht *Gloucester*, under Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright, comprehended that it was her business to take care of the torpedo-boats, and appeared to imagine that she was a battle-ship instead of an unprotected pleasure yacht. She ran in at close range, sometimes being completely hidden by smoke, and worked her small rapid-firing guns accurately and with deadly results. The *Gloucester* received or-

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ders by signal to get out of danger, but Wainwright said the signal seemed to him to order him to close in. This commander had a terrible score to settle because of the ill-fated *Maine*. From the night of her destruction he had been grimly awaiting his opportunity. Now that his chance had come, he fought his little yacht with a fury that bewildered the Spaniards and amazed the American fleet. He explained that he was afraid he might strain his guns if he used them at long range! so he got as close to the enemy as he could, firing at the big ships as well as at the torpedo craft. His fire was so rapid and exact that the enemy were not able even to launch their torpedoes; one torpedo squad after another being swept away before they could load their tubes.

Hardly had the battle opened when one of the largest guns sent a shell through the *Pluton*, which, practically broke her in two. The *Furor* tried to seek refuge behind the cruisers, but the *Gloucester* ran in and out and riddled her with an unerring fire which reached her vitals and sent her plunging toward the shore, to break upon a reef and go down under the rolling surf. Some of her crew were helped upon the gallant little vessel that had destroyed her. Out of one hundred forty men on the two vessels but twenty-four survived.

In fifteen minutes the *Maria Teresa* and the *Oquendo* were on fire. At a quarter-past ten the former of these was completely disabled, gave up the fight, and ran on the shore at a point about six and a half miles from the harbor, and in another quarter of an hour the other did the same thing a half-mile farther on. One had been hit thirty-three times and the other sixty-six. The

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Vizcaya, in three-quarters of an hour more, struck her colors and turned to the shore fifteen miles from the harbor.

These vessels were pierced by shells in many places; they were burning and their guns and ammunition bursting, with the likelihood that their magazines would explode at any moment. As the only resort in the last extremity, they were run on the beach, where they sank and careened over on their sides. Hundreds of their crews were dead or wounded and many more jumped into the heavy sea to save themselves.

The American boats went quickly to their rescue. As the *Texas* passed one of the stranded vessels her men started a cheer, but Captain John W. Philip, with fine chivalry, told them not to cheer when other brave men were dying. The *Iowa* and the *Ericsson* took off the crew of the *Vizcaya*, and the *Gloucester* and the *Harvard* those of the *Maria Teresa* and the *Oquendo*. Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright received Admiral Cervera at his gangway and made the defeated Spanish officer as comfortable as possible. The men helped the Spaniards from the water and at great risk went aboard their vessels to carry off the wounded.

In the meantime, while her sister ships were being destroyed, the *Cristobal Colon* had pushed on out of the thickest of the fire, and was hoping to escape. She was their best and fastest vessel. When the *Vizcaya* went ashore, fifteen miles from the start, the fleetness of the *Colon* had put her ahead of the rest about six miles. As soon as the fate of the *Vizcaya* was assured, the *Iowa* and the *Indiana* were directed to return to the blockading station, and the *Brooklyn*, the *Oregon*, the *Texas*,

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and the *Vixen* started on the great race for the *Colon*.

The high speed of the *Brooklyn* enabled her to lead the way. But the *Oregon* showed that she had speed as well as great guns. Her chief engineer had for weeks saved some choice Cardiff coal for just such an emergency, and now it was piled upon the fires with signal effect. The grimy heroes under the decks won the race that day. In the boiler-rooms the heat was almost insufferable, ranging from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty degrees, Fahrenheit. The men fainted often and had to be lifted to the deck where the fresh air could revive them. But there was no flinching or complaint. Frequently the stokers insisted upon working overtime. No one of them in the pit was less intense or less a hero than the captain on the bridge. Once, when some of the firemen had fainted, the engineer called to the captain, "If my men can hear a few guns, they will revive."

The *Colon* hugged the coast for the purpose of landing if she could not escape. The pursuers struck a line for a projecting headland. There was no firing for a long distance, and the crews watched the great race from the decks. The *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon* gradually drew away from the others and gained upon the Spaniard.

The *Colon* fired a shot at her pursuers now and then, but each fell wide of the mark. When Commodore Schley was told by the navigator that the distance between the *Colon* and the *Oregon* was but eight thousand five hundred yards, or five miles, he signaled to the battle-ship to try a thirteen-inch shell upon her. Instantly it whistled

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over the head of the *Brooklyn* and fell but little short of the *Colon*. A second one struck beyond her. A few shots were then fired by both of the American vessels. At twenty minutes after one o'clock the *Colon* struck her colors and ran ashore forty-two miles from the entrance to Santiago harbor. The Spanish crew scuttled and left her sinking. The *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon* soon came up, and Captain Cook of the former went aboard and received her surrender. Soon the noble vessel sank in deep water, but was pushed upon the beach by the *New York*, which had arrived. The next day only a small part of the stern of the ship remained above the water.

All the living men upon the stranded fleet, about sixteen hundred of them, were taken prisoners. The Spanish admiral and most of the prominent officers were among the number. All were treated with the utmost kindness, and the wounded received every possible aid, far more than they would have had if they had not been captured.

The Spaniards had four hundred killed. The charred remains found upon their burning ships told too plainly how dreadfully they had suffered. The Americans lost but one man. George H. Ellis, a yeoman, assisting on the bridge of the *Brooklyn*, was asked by Captain Cook to give him the distance to the *Viscaya*. He stepped into the open, took the observation, answered, "Twenty-two hundred yards, sir," and fell at the captain's feet, for a shell had taken off his head.

THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII

(1898)

BY EDMUND J. CARPENTER¹

The withdrawal from Hawaii of the naval force of the United States, by order of President Cleveland, occurred in July, 1894, notwithstanding the fear of Admiral Walker, then in command of the Pacific Squadron, that evil results would follow. The *Champion*, a British war-vessel, was left in the harbor; and the royalists and their English sympathizers were elated. The royalist faction openly asserted that the withdrawal of the American naval force was for the purpose of affording a chance for a revolt. The revolt came in January, 1895, and was promptly met and suppressed. This revolt, the trial, the imprisonment in her own apartments of the ex-Queen, and her subsequent abdication constitute a story of Hawaiian history, picturesque and vigorous, but not closely connected with the history of American influence in the islands. . . .

¹ From Carpenter's "America in Hawaii." By permission of the publishers, Small, Maynard & Company. Copyright, 1899.

The Hawaiian Islands have prospered under the Americans. In 1899, the year after annexation, their foreign trade amounted to \$41,687,000, which was an increase of 44 per cent. over the previous year. The products shipped from the islands in 1909 were valued at nearly \$40,000,000, of which \$37,672,821 was sugar. In 1910 the exports of sugar amounted to \$42,626,069; the other exports were coffee, \$288,423, fruit, \$1,775,000.

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So far as any formal movement toward annexation is concerned, the Hawaiian question lay dormant until after the close of President Cleveland's term of office. The Republican Presidential convention which met in Chicago in the summer of 1896, adopted, as one plank of its platform, a resolution favoring Hawaiian annexation. A few months later the ex-Queen Liliuokalani, who had just previously received a full pardon for her complicity in the revolt of 1895, suddenly appeared in San Francisco, and, after a journey across the continent and a brief visit in Boston, took up her residence with her suite in Washington, in order to oppose the annexation. She made a visit to Mr. Cleveland, but found the President indisposed to enter in any formal manner into her plans. Beyond a pleasant greeting and the cautious expression of hope that her Majesty would be able to obtain some just recognition of her demands, he gave to his visitor no open sympathy.

During the winter the ex-Queen held a series of social receptions, which were attractive and commanded much attention in the life of Washington. At the inauguration of President McKinley, she occupied a prominent position in the diplomatic gallery, through the courtesy of Secretary of State John Sherman and other officials. This over, little more was heard by the general public concerning her actions; but active efforts in her behalf were maintained during the next fifteen months, through the employment of lobbyists.

Almost immediately upon the return of the Republican party to power, and the accession of President McKinley, a new treaty of annexation

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was drawn up. This treaty was similar in many of its features to the treaty of 1893, withdrawn by President Cleveland. It differed in this particular, however, that in this one no provision was made for a compensation to the ex-Queen or to the Princess Kaiulani. This omission was, beyond doubt, the result of the futile attempt of the ex-Queen, in 1895, to regain her lost power by force. It should be said, however, that the Hawaiian Government, some time before, had granted an annual pension of two thousand dollars to the Princess Kaiulani.

This treaty was signed by President McKinley, and submitted to the Senate for ratification. The debate upon this subject behind closed doors was long, and was believed to have been not altogether free from bitterness. It at length became known that, altho the question of the ratification of the treaty had not been brought to actual vote, while a large majority of the members of the Senate were favorable to it, there were yet lacking two or three votes to constitute the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution.

It was then decided to introduce a joint resolution of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the passage of such a measure requiring not more than a majority vote. This resolution was nearly identical with the proposed treaty.

Pending the final decision of the Hawaiian question by Congress, hostilities had begun between the United States and Spain. On the first day of May, 1898, occurred the naval battle before Manila, in which the American Pacific squadron, under command of Commodore Dewey, without any loss of life, destroyed the opposing Spanish

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fleet, under the guns of the forts at Cavité. It became necessary at once that a large army of occupation should be sent to invest the city of Manila. The great strategic importance of the Hawaiian Islands now became evident to all, and many who had therefore been pronounced opponents of annexation became converted to an advocacy of the measure. Military expeditions were speedily fitted out for the Philippine Islands; and these, sailing from San Francisco, made a port of call, for coal and fresh provisions, at Honolulu. The Hawaiian Government—which, under the custom of nations, should have declared neutrality—at once upon the beginning of hostilities declined to take this step. The Spanish consul at Honolulu, who protested to the island government against granting to a belligerent nation the use of its harbors, was met with a declaration that the Hawaiian Government regarded the United States as its best friend, and that the islands would welcome the troops in their harbors and on their shores. This was in effect a declaration of alliance, altho no formal alliance had been made.

The Government of the United States accepted this hospitality with gratitude. In Honolulu the members of the military expeditions, as they passed through, were received with unbounded enthusiasm and were lavishly entertained. The effect upon the people of the United States was marked, and the speedy annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States became a certainty. On July 6, 1898, the long struggle was ended; and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, an act which had been contemplated as a future probability for half a century, at last became a reality.

THE ASSASSINATION OF MCKINLEY

(1901)

BY HARRY THURSTON PECK¹

The wider field of interest which the United States occupied [after the war with Spain] had undoubtedly broadened and elevated President McKinley's statesmanship. He gave striking evidence of this in a remarkable speech which he delivered on September 5th, in the city of Buffalo, before a gathering of fifty thousand people. In that speech he showed plainly that he was no longer fettered by the dogmas of a narrow protectionism. He spoke words which ten years before would have seemed to him heretical. But they were words of genuine statesmanship, and they should be remembered and inscribed in golden letters upon the temple of American economics. . . .

"Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. By the sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our incresasing surplus. . . .

"Reciprocity is the natural growth of our won-

¹ From Peck's "Twenty Years of the Republic." By permission of the publishers, Dodd, Mead & Company. Copyright, 1906.

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derful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

"If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

"Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace and not in those of war."

President McKinley had visited Buffalo for the purpose of inspecting the so called Pan-American Exposition. On the day after his public speech, he held a reception in the Temple of Music, giving a personal greeting to all who wished to meet him. Among these was a young man having the appearance of a respectable mechanic, whose right hand was apparently covered with a bandage. As he approached the President, he rapidly uncovered a revolver, and before he could be prevented, he had fired two bullets into the body of the President.

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Ere he had fired a third time, he was seized and hurled to the ground. Mr. McKinley stood for a moment as tho dazed, and then swayed backward into the arms of his attendants. The first words that he spoke were to his private secretary: "Cortelyou, be careful; tell Mrs. McKinley gently." Then, observing the attempt of the maddened people to tear his assailant to pieces, the President said in a feeble voice, "Let no one hurt him."

The assassin was rescued by the police. He proved to be a German Pole named Leon Franz Czolgosz, by occupation a blacksmith in Detroit. He was an unintelligent, dull young man whose brain had been inflamed by listening to the oratory of foreign anarchists, among them particularly a woman, named Emma Goldman, who had long been conspicuous as an agitator. In 1893, she had spent ten months in prison for inciting to riot, and her views were revolutionary even beyond those of ordinary anarchists. Short in figure, hard featured and frowsy in appearance, she hated women and spent her life chiefly among men. At one time she had been the mistress of Johann Most, tho later she had quarreled with him and had assaulted him at an anarchistic meeting. It was from her more than from any other that Czolgosz received the impulse which led him to commit the crime for which presently he suffered death (October 29th).

President McKinley lingered for a few days; and the favorable reports which were given out by his physicians led the country to hope that he might recover. This hope proved to be baseless, and he died on the morning of Saturday, September 14th. His remains lay in state in Buffalo

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and afterward in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, where they were received with impressive ceremonies. His body was interred in the cemetery at Canton. . . .

To President McKinley there was accorded a spontaneous tribute of universal grief such as no one in our history, since Washington, had ever yet received. Americans sorrowed both for the ruler and for the man; and their sorrow was the more poignant because of the false hope which had been given them by the premature and quite unjustifiable optimism of his physicians. In it all there was nothing official, nothing studied or insincere. Its most impressive feature was found in its quiet intensity, the intensity of a feeling too sacred and too profound for utterance in mere words. At the hour when the simple ceremonial in Canton was proceeding, a great hush came over every city and hamlet in the land. The activities of seventy millions of people ceased.

He died at an hour that was friendly to his fame. A foreign war had ended in the triumph of the American arms. The Republic of the West had at last assumed its place among the greatest nations of the earth. Political bitterness had spent itself in the electoral contest of the preceding year, and there had succeeded a lull which brought with it good will and tolerance. Extraordinary material prosperity had enriched the nation, so that men might at some future day look back upon those years as to a Golden Age. And finally, the tragic ending of a useful, honorable life stirred all the chords of human sympathy, and seemed to cast upon that life itself the pathos and the splendor of a consecration.

THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

(1906)

CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTIONS AND COMMENTS¹

Three-fourths of the city of San Francisco have been destroyed by earthquake and flames. Three hundred thousand people have been rendered homeless, and are facing, for the moment, want and misery. The Federal Government, the States,

¹From a summary made for *The Literary Digest* of April 28, 1906, by Henry James Forman.

Several earthquakes, but they were of small importance, had occurred in California before 1906. Three of these at San Francisco have been described as "destructive," and four as "exceptionally severe," but the worst caused only five deaths and injured only about a dozen old buildings. The earthquake of April 18, 1906, followed by a fire lasting three days, practically destroyed all the business part of the city, and some adjoining districts besides. Elsewhere in California damage was done by this earthquake along the coast region in a belt about fifty miles wide. The damage done in San Francisco by the earthquake itself was small compared with what the fire produced. During the progress of the fire, it was estimated that 200,000 persons camped in the parks and 50,000 others in the military reservation. The fire could not be brought under control because the earthquake had cut off the water supply. The loss in buildings was estimated at \$105,000,000, and in property of all kinds at from \$350,000,000 to \$500,000,000, of which \$235,000,000 was covered by insurance. In aid of the sufferers, Congress voted \$2,500,000, and the people of the country subscribed about \$10,000,000. Within three years the city was practically rebuilt.

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and the cities, newspapers, societies, and individuals are urging and hurrying aid to the sufferers of the greatest calamity of the kind in American history. No one is blind as to the extent of the disaster. Yet, from every quarter comes that word of cheer and encouragement, of sympathy and friendship, that is so helpful in times of distress, so typical of the American character. Fortunately, says the *New York Journal*, "it is certain that the spirit of 'Forty-nine' lives in California to-day. The same courage that changed a wilderness into a great State, and a strip of land by the sea's edge into a beautiful city, will do that work again. And from the ashes and the ruins, the blasted hopes, the broken fortunes, there will arise another San Francisco, more beautiful, more worthy of a brave people—a great monument to the courage, the everlasting determination of the West.

In 1871 Chicago had only about 300,000 inhabitants; the loss she suffered by her great fire was about \$200,000,000. San Francisco had a population of 400,000, and her monetary loss will far exceed Chicago's figure—a catastrophe perhaps "without a parallel in history," the *New York Tribune* calls it. The work of devastation, as the story is gleaned from the newspaper accounts, began at 5:13 o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, April 18, when a quaking of the earth shook the business portion and the neighboring tenement district of the city into a mass of ruins. Great buildings, except those newer ones built on steel frames, collapsed like houses of cards. Tenement houses crumbled, and, indeed, the entire city quaked and rocked. Fires broke out immediately in the ruined portion, and breaking gas-mains,

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helped them on. The breaking of the great water-main rendered the fire department helpless. When the second shock came, three hours after the first, the people were so unnerved that when they felt the first tremor they ran madly this way and that, screaming and crying out, and threw themselves on the ground in agonies of fear. The earth quaked and quivered under them like a jelly, and the air was filled with thunderous sounds. All then joined in a mad flight to the hills and the parks.

And yet, in the very midst of all this panic, the citizens, under the leadership of Mayor Schmitz, organized a committee of safety; General Funston placed the city under martial law and brought the whole garrison of the Presidio with him, and so far as was possible, order reigned in the chaos. But the fire took up the work that the earthquake left undone and proceeded to wipe out the greater part of the city. Many banks were either completely burned or badly damaged, but in almost every case the vaults remained intact and those banks are rapidly resuming business. Most hotels throughout the city, left by the earthquake, were destroyed by the uncontrollable fire. All the great newspaper buildings and the Western Union Telegraph building were destroyed, thus cutting off communication.

Twenty towns in the neighborhood of San Francisco suffered from the shock. San José, Sacramento, Monterey, Stockton, Berkeley, and Palo Alto are among them. Leland Stanford University, the famous seat of learning, situated in Palo Alto, is a ruin. The university has a \$33,000,000 foundation and will be rebuilt. At this writing

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it is still impossible to calculate the damage. As the New York *Sun* observes:

"A city dismantled by earthquake and ravaged by fire can give only an incoherent account of the calamity. There are the dead to bury, the injured to succor, and the destitute to be relieved. San Francisco's misfortunes are cataclysmic, and it has no time for exact details. Days must elapse before we have an understanding of the processes of the disaster, or even the extent of it. We know that it is a ruined city, filled with starving and homeless people; but we have no body of facts from which to draw conclusions or read a lesson. How much of the destruction was due to earthquake, and how much to fire has not been determined; and perhaps it never will be."

From the moment the news of the earthquake went abroad scientists in both America and Europe made guesses as to the cause of it. Seismic disturbances are not new to San Francisco. In 1852, 1872, and 1898 San Francisco was visited by pretty severe shocks doing considerable damage. But most scientists agree that the California earthquake had nothing to do with Vesuvius, the two spots being in different geological zones. The causes, in the opinion of Professor Ralph S. Tarr, of the Geological Department of Cornell, are rock movements which are the result of mountain growth. Professor James F. Kemp, of Columbia University, thinks the cause is in the slipping apart of two geological deposits, thus creating a rift. Professor Berkey, of Columbia, is of much the same mind. Professor Pickering, of Harvard, and many other scientists, feel certain the San Francisco disturbance was not of volcanic origin.

THE EARTHQUAKE IN SAN FRANCISCO

No one expects a speedy recurrence of the disaster. The press of the entire country not only prophesy a quick restoration of the city, but they even congratulate San Francisco on its opportunity to show its grit. Says the *New York Times*:

"Unquestionably San Francisco will be rebuilt. The domestic and foreign commerce of which it is the immediate and indispensable center makes that entirely certain. The vast interests, productive, industrial, financial, mercantile, and connected with transportation, will not be denied. And, paradoxical as it may seem, the completeness of the destruction offers to those in control of these great interests an opportunity unlike any presented to an enterprising and intelligent body of able men in the history of cities."

The assurance given by Mr. D. O. Mills that he would at once proceed to replace his own building there, thinks the *New York Tribune*, "denoted a spirit which will undoubtedly animate other owners of property at the Golden Gate who have had experiences similar to his." "Lessons," says *The Journal of Commerce*, "may be learned from this experience which will diminish the dangers of the future." The lessons refer to the water supply and safer construction. "So far as yet appears," adds *The Journal of Commerce*, "the safety of steel construction, even for high buildings, has been vindicated." "It may be," says the *New York Sun*, "that there will be an exodus from San Francisco of those who have the means to travel and can find opportunities elsewhere; but they will be in the minority." Most of the inhabitants will doubtless stay and rebuild their city, and, to quote *The Tribune* again, "Five years hence, there is

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good reason to believe, they will survey with pride and gratitude a larger and more beautiful city than the one which has just been destroyed." Already the Federal Government is making plans for reconstructing its buildings there. Railway companies have decided to reduce freight on all building material, but the insurance companies, with perhaps some exceptions, can pay only for fire risks. At first they generously offered not to discriminate between fire and earthquake. The appeal of the press on behalf of the city is meeting with generous response. But San Francisco's need is most dire. As *The World* puts it:

"When General Funston speaks of the danger of a famine, he speaks deliberately and as an officer of responsibility. He sees actually under his eyes conditions which a frenzied writer of fiction would hardly dare depict for the sake of sensation. He has watched the complex machinery of civilization collapse, turn to ashes, and a twisted and grotesque caricature of itself. A great, modern, well-built community has been converted into a blackened, fire-swept desert."

"The desolation and distress touch the deepest sympathy of all," cries the *Philadelphia Press*; "but they do more than stir the fountains of pity—they must start the streams of instant and generous help." And in a case like this, the *New York American* puts in, "a million dollars does not go far." This is, in short, a case which calls for assistance not only from the few who are rich, but from the entire country, man, woman, and child, according to their ability. "Give, therefore," adds *The American*, "give in humanity's name to the limit of your means, and give at once."

THE BUILDING OF THE PANAMA CANAL

(1550—1909)

THE "ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA'S" ACCOUNT¹

When he crossed the Atlantic, the object Columbus had in view was to find a western passage from Europe to Cathay. It was with the greatest reluctance, and only after a generation of unremitting toil that the explorers who had succeeded him became convinced that the American continent was continuous, and formed a barrier of enormous extent to the passage of vessels. The question of cutting a canal through this barrier at some suitable point was immediately raised. In 1550 the Portuguese navigator, Antonio Galvao, published a book to demonstrate that a canal could be cut at Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, Panama or Darien, and in 1551 the Spanish historian, F. L. De Gomara, submitted a memorial to Philip II, urging in forcible language that the work be undertaken without delay. But the project was opposed by the Spanish Government, who had now concluded that a monopoly of communication with their possessions in the New World was of more importance than a passage by

¹ From the article on Panama in the eleventh edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica." By permission of the publishers, the University of Cambridge. Copyright, 1911.

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sea to Cathay. It even discouraged the improvement of the communications by land. To seek or make known any better route than the one from Porto Bello to Panama was forbidden under penalty of death. For more than two centuries no serious steps were taken toward the construction of the canal, if exception be made of William Paterson's disastrous Darien scheme in 1698. . . .

The French plan was for a sea-level canal having a depth of 29½ feet and bottom width of 72 feet, involving excavation estimated at 157,000,000 cubic yards. The cost was estimated by De Lesseps in 1880 at 658,000,000 francs, and the time required at eight years. The terminus on the Atlantic side was fixed by the anchorage at Colon, and that on the Pacific side by the anchorage at Panama. Leaving Colon, the canal was to pass through low ground by a direct line for a distance of six miles to Gatun, where it intersected the valley of the Chagres River; pass up that valley for a distance of twenty-one miles to Obispo, where it left the Chagres and ascended the valley of a tributary, the Cumacho; cut through the watershed at Culebra, and thence descend by the valley of the Rio Grande to Panama Bay. Its total length, from deep water in the Atlantic to deep water in the Pacific, was about forty-seven miles. . . .

Work under this plan continued until the latter part of 1887, the management being characterized by a degree of extravagance and corruption rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of the world. By that time it had become evident that the canal could not be completed at the sea-level with the resources of time and money then avail-

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able. The plan was accordingly changed to one including locks, and work was pushed on with vigor until 1889, when the company, becoming bankrupt, was dissolved by a judgment of the Tribunal Civil de la Seine, dated the 4th of February, 1889, a liquidator being appointed by the court to take charge of its affairs. . . .

The interest of the United States in an isthmian canal was not essentially different from that of other maritime nations down to about the middle of the nineteenth century, but it assumed great strength when California was acquired, and it has steadily grown as the importance of the Pacific States has developed. In 1848 and again in 1884, treaties were negotiated with Nicaragua authorizing the United States to build the canal, but in neither case was the treaty ratified. The Spanish War of 1898 gave a tremendous impetus to popular interest in the matter, and it seemed an article of the national faith that the canal must be built, and, furthermore, that it must be under American control.

To the American people the canal appears to be not merely a business enterprise from which a direct revenue is to be obtained, but rather a means of unifying and strengthening their national political interests, and of developing their industries, particularly in the Pacific States; in short, a means essential to their national growth. The Isthmian Canal Commission, created by Congress in 1899 to examine all practicable routes, and to report which was the most practicable and most feasible for a canal under the control, management and ownership of the United States, reported that there was no route which did not present greater disadvantages than those of

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Panama and Nicaragua. It recommended that the canal at Panama have a depth of 35 feet, and a bottom width of 150 feet, the locks to be double, the lock chambers to have a length 740 feet, width 84 feet, and depth 35 feet in the clear. . . .

This report caused the New Panama Canal Company to view the question of selling its property in a new light, and in the spring of 1901 it obtained permission from the Colombian Government to dispose of it to the United States. It showed itself, however, somewhat reluctant to name a price to the Canal Commission, and it was not till January, 1902, that it definitely offered to accept \$40,000,000. In consequence of this offer, the commission in a supplementary report issued on the 18th of January, 1902, reversed the conclusion it had stated in its main report, and advised the adoption of the Panama route, with purchase of the works, etc., of the French company. A few days previous to this report the Hepburn bill, authorizing the Nicaragua canal at a cost of \$180,000,000, had been carried in the House of Representatives by a large majority, but when it reached the Senate an amendment—the so-called Spooner bill—was moved and finally became law on the 28th of June, 1902. This authorized the President to acquire all the property of the Panama Canal Company, including not less than 68,869 shares of the Panama Railroad Company, for a sum not exceeding \$40,000,000, and to obtain from Colombia perpetual control of a strip of land six miles wide; while if he failed to come to terms with the company and with Colombia in a reasonable

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time and on reasonable terms, he was by treaty to obtain from Costa Rica and Nicaragua the territory necessary for the Nicaragua canal.

Negotiations were forthwith opened with Colombia, and ultimately a treaty (the Hay-Herran treaty) was signed in January, 1903. The Colombian Senate, however, refused ratification, and it seemed as if the Panama scheme would have to be abandoned when the complexion of affairs was changed by Panama revolting from Colombia and declaring itself independent in November, 1903. Within a month the new republic, by the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty, granted the United States the use, occupation, and control of a strip of land ten miles wide for the purposes of the canal. A few days after the ratification of this treaty by the United States Senate, in February, 1904—the concession of the French company having been purchased—a commission was appointed to undertake the organization and management of the enterprise, and in June Mr. J. F. Wallace was chosen chief engineer. Work was begun without delay, but the commission's methods of administration and control soon proved unsatisfactory, and in April, 1905, it was reorganized, three of its members being constituted an executive committee which was to be at Panama continuously. Shortly afterward Mr. Wallace resigned his position and was succeeded by Mr. John F. Stevens.

In connection with the reorganization of the commission a board of consulting engineers, five being nominated by European governments, was appointed in June, 1905, to consider the question, which so far had not been settled, whether the canal should be made at sea-level, without locks

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(at least except tidal regulating locks at or near the Pacific terminus), or should rise to some elevation above sea-level, with locks. The board reported in January, 1906. The majority (eight members out of thirteen) declared in favor of a sea-level canal as the only plan "giving reasonable assurance of safe and uninterrupted navigation"; and they considered that such a canal could be constructed in twelve or thirteen years' time, that the cost would be less than \$250,000,000, and that it would endure for all time.

The minority recommended a lock canal, rising to an elevation of 85 feet above sea-level, on the grounds that it would cost about \$100,000,000 less than the proposed sea-level canal, that it could be built in much less time, that it would afford a better navigation, that it would be adequate for all its uses for a longer time, and that it could be enlarged with greater facility and less cost.

These conflicting reports were then submitted to the Isthmian Canal Commission for consideration, with the result that, on the 5th of February, it reported, one member only dissenting, in favor of the lock canal recommended by the minority of the board of consulting engineers. Finally this plan was adopted by Congress in June, 1906. Later in the same year tenders were invited from contractors who were prepared to undertake the construction of the canal. These were opened in January, 1907, but none of them was regarded as entirely satisfactory, and President Roosevelt decided that it would be best for the Government to continue the work, which was placed under the more immediate control of the U. S. A. Corps of Engineers. At the same time the Isthmian Canal

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Commission was reorganized, Major G. W. Goethals, of the Corps of Engineers, becoming engineer in chief and chairman, in succession to Mr. J. F. Stevens, who, after succeeding Mr. T. P. Shonts as chairman, himself resigned on the 1st of April.

The following are the leading particulars of the canal: The length from deep water in the Atlantic to deep water in the Pacific will be about 50 miles, or, since the distance from deep water to the shore-line is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in Limon Bay and about 5 miles at Panama, approximately $40\frac{1}{2}$ miles from shore to shore. The summit level, regulated between 82 and 87 feet, above sea-level, will extend for $31\frac{1}{2}$ miles from a large earth dam at Gatun, to a smaller one at Pedro Miguel, and is to be reached by a flight of three locks at the former point. The Gatun dam will be 7,200 feet long along the crest, including the spillway, will have a maximum width at its base of 2,000 feet, and will be uniformly 1,000 feet wide at its top, which will rise 115 feet above sea-level. The lake (Lake Gatun) enclosed by these dams will be $164\frac{1}{4}$ square miles in area, and will constitute a reservoir for receiving the floods of the Chagres and other rivers as well as for supplying water for lockage. A smaller lake (Lake Miraflores), with a surface elevation of 55 feet, and an area of two square miles, will extend from a lock at Pedro Miguel to Miraflores, where the valley of the Rio Grande is to be closed by an earth dam on the west and a concrete dam with spillway on the east, and the canal is to descend to sea-level by a flight of two locks. All the locks are to be in duplicate, each being 110 feet wide with a usable length of 1,000 feet divided by a middle gate.

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The channel leading from deep water in the Caribbean Sea to Gatun will be about seven miles long and 500 feet broad, increasing to 1,000 feet from a point 4,000 feet north of the locks in order to form a waiting basin for ships. From Gatun locks, 0.6 mile in length, the channel is to be 1,000 feet or more in width for a distance of nearly 16 miles, to San Pablo. Thence it narrows first to 800 feet, and then for a short distance to 700 feet, for $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to mile 27 near Juan Grande, and to 500 feet for $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Juan Grande to Obispo (mile $31\frac{1}{4}$). From this point through the Culebra cut to Pedro Miguel lock, it will be only 300 feet wide, but will widen again to 500 feet through Miraflores Lake, 1 1-3 miles long, to Miraflores locks, the total length of which, including approaches, will be nearly a mile, and will thence maintain the same width for the remaining 8 miles to deep water on the Pacific. The minimum bottom width of the canal will thus be 300 feet, the average being 649 feet, while the minimum depth will be 41 feet.

In 1909 it was estimated that the construction of the canal would be completed by the 1st of January, 1915, and that the total cost to the United States, would not exceed \$375,000,000, including \$50,000,000 paid to the French Canal Company and the Republic of Panama, \$7,382,000 for civil administration, and \$20,053,000 for sanitation.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE SALVATION ARMY

(1878—1911)

BY WILLIAM H. COX, ONE OF ITS
OFFICERS¹

The Salvation Army is an international organization having for its purpose the uplift of the morally, spiritually, and materially destitute. Its founder was William Booth, who in 1865 commenced holding meetings in a disused burial-ground in London belonging to the Quakers. Its first name was the Christian Mission, which was changed in 1878 to the present name, with the accompaniment of military titles, uniforms, and paraphernalia. . . .

The growth of the work, which in 1878 had 81 corps, 127 officers, and 1,987 workers, aroused some opposition; but the opposition was overcome and the activities were extended to other parts of the metropolis, then out into the country and to the other large cities of England, over the entire United Kingdom, gained a footing on the continent, then in the United States and Canada, into the British colonies in general, until at the present all western Europe, Iceland, Italy, India,

¹ From his article in "The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia." Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company. Copyright, 1911.

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Ceylon, Java, Japan, Korea, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, South America, and several of the West Indies are occupied by the organization—in all fifty-four countries in which twenty-eight languages are used in the services. In 1910 the reports indicated for the entire organization 8,574 corps and outposts, 16,244 officers, cadets, and employees, and 56,867 local officers, and 21,681 bandsmen. It has received official recognition from several of the crowned heads of Europe, while in other quarters as exalted its work has been commended.

The basis of the army doctrinally is that of orthodox Christianity without the distinction of sect. Its object includes the betterment in all worthy respects of those whom it can reach in its various ways. It discards all distinctions except those of piety and ability; men and women work side by side; while the ordinary conventionalities employed in the usual agencies of Christian work are, if the case demands, entirely disregarded. The specific directions its work takes are first religious, aiming at the conversion of those who are either indifferent to religion or are opposed to it; second, social, aiming to reach especially the poor and destitute. . . .

The social work is very varied. It includes the establishment and maintenance of food and shelter depots and cheap restaurants for the poor. In these the Army cares for many thousands yearly, furnishing food and lodging, insisting upon cleanliness in person and habit while under the care of the institutions, while religious services are held regularly for the inmates. In close connection with this class of work is the home visi-

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tation in the poorer districts of the cities, the women entering the homes, ministering to the sick, supplying medicines, washing and dressing children for school, even cleansing the house and furniture, supplying food, and on occasion preparing the dead for burial. Work among prisoners, including the providing of employment upon their release, is an important branch of the work. The Army has also established orphanages, especially in rural districts, where the training of the children is both mental and industrial. It maintains a network of industrial homes in connection with which work is furnished and the self-respect of the beneficiaries is fostered. Sales-rooms are kept in connection with these in which articles suitable for use in the household are dispensed at prices which are a boon to the poor and worthy.

One of the most successful branches of the Army's operation is the rescue work for fallen women, in which twenty-two homes are maintained. It is claimed that between eighty and ninety per cent. of the rescue cases prove to be permanent. Maternity wards are a part of the equipment to these homes. The Salvation Army has also employed its organization as a means for collecting and disbursing funds in great emergencies like those of the earthquake disasters at San Francisco and Messina and environs. A recognized practise with the Army is the furnishing of Christmas dinners to the poor and unemployed, in the United States alone 350,000 were the guests on a single Christmas. Its funds in the course of a year are large, \$300,000 being spent in the single item of poor relief.

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A careful system of bookkeeping is in vogue, the accounts are regularly audited, and yearly reports are issued and filed in accordance with the requirements of the laws under which the Army is incorporated.

In the United States work was begun in 1880 by Commissioner George Railton and seven women officers. It reports 896 corps and outposts, 3,875 officers and employees, 75 workingmen's hotels, 4 women's hotels, and in these accommodations for 6,592 is furnished nightly, and 1,961,677 beds each year, 20 food depots, 107 industrial homes, 3 farm colonies with 2,000 colonized and 350 colonists; there are 20 employment bureaus which furnish work for 1,500 persons each month, 107 second-hand stores, 4 children's homes, 4 day-nurseries, and 23 slum settlements. In a single year in the United States 309,591 persons were afforded temporary relief, summer outings were given to 3,972 mothers and 24,373 children, employment was found for 65,124 men and 5,355 women, 1,593,834 pounds of ice and 4,579,788 pounds of coal were distributed. Regular visitation of prisons, workhouses, and hospitals is also carried on. 'At the Paris Exposition a gold medal was awarded the organization for the United States exhibit of the Salvation Army's operations among the poor.

MRS. EDDY AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

(1879—1911)

BY LEWIS C. STRANG¹

Christian Science is defined in the Standard Dictionary as "a system of moral and religious instruction, founded upon principles formulated by Rev. Mary Baker G. Eddy and combined with a method of treating diseases mentally. Christian Science is based on teachings of Scripture which it interprets, giving the Christ principle and rule in divine metaphysics, which heals the sick and sinner. It explains all cause and effect as mental, and shows the scientific relation of man to God." The full exposition of this science is given in Mrs. Eddy's book, "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," which was first published in 1875. . . .

Regarding her discovery of Christian Science, Mrs. Eddy says in her book, "Retrospection and Introspection": "It was in Massachusetts in February, 1866, that I discovered the Science of divine metaphysical healing, which I afterward named Christian Science. The discovery came to pass in this way. During twenty years prior to

¹From an article by Mr. Strang in "The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia," the same having been submitted to Mrs. Eddy before publication, "examined, edited, and approved" by her. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company. Copyright, 1909.

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my discovery, I had been trying to trace all physical effects to a mental cause; and in the latter part of 1866 I gained the scientific certainty that all causation was mind and every effect a mental phenomenon. My immediate recovery from the effects of an injury caused by an accident, an injury that neither medicine nor surgery could reach, was the falling apple that led me to the discovery." Mrs. Eddy spent the next three years in retirement, studying the Bible and finding there the principle and rule of her healing. She then tested her healing system practically in every possible way, and finally, in 1875, after nine years of preliminary work, wrote the Christian Science text-book, "Science and Health with Key to Scriptures." Her literary output after that was tremendous, comprizing books, sermons, essays, polemics, poems, magazine articles, editorials.

In 1879 Mrs. Eddy organized in Boston, Massachusetts, the First Church of Christ, Scientist, and was ordained as its pastor. This body was composed of twenty-six members. In 1895, sixteen years later, the church, to accommodate its increased membership, erected a handsome edifice on the corner of Falmouth and Norway streets, Boston, at a cost of \$200,000. This seats about 1,200 people. In June, 1906, a magnificent new structure, adjoining this and having a seating capacity of 5,000, was completed. It cost about \$2,000,000. The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston is known as the Mother Church of this denomination.

The Christian Science denomination had, in January, 1911, 1,244 branch churches and socie-

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ties, holding Sunday services. Chicago has nine large churches with five handsome edifices. Greater New York has twelve churches. In Greater New York there are eight church buildings, First Church edifice having cost over \$1,150,000. Concord, N. H., has a strong organization and a beautiful granite church, a gift from Mrs. Eddy, which cost over \$200,000. Mrs. Eddy located this church, bought the land, started the building, and paid for it, part of the money having been contributed to her for this especial purpose by Christian Scientists in all parts of the world, who wished to have a share in the work. There are influential Christian Science churches in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Jose, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Washington, Cleveland, St. Louis, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Providence, Toronto, and, it may be said, in all the large cities of the United States and Canada. There are firmly established churches in London, England, of which First has recently completed a fine edifice at Sloane Terrace, S.W. The organization in Manchester, England, has its own church edifice, as has that in Edinburgh, Scotland. There are organizations in Australia, Germany, France, Scandinavia, Holland, South Africa, South America, Mexico, Hawaii, the Philippines, and in many of the English colonies. . . .

In 1881, Mrs. Eddy obtained a charter from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—the only one of the sort ever granted—and organized the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, in which during the eight succeeding years she taught over 4,000 persons. Many of these were indigent

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students, who received their tuition free. It was her custom to make it possible for all worthy applicants to avail themselves gratuitously of her personal instruction. In 1889 she closed the college, notwithstanding that hundreds of applicants were awaiting admission. Her purpose in doing this was to secure time to revise "Science and Health" and further to extend her field of labor. Later she established a board of education, based on the college, which board is now in active operation.

Mrs. Eddy founded the *Christian Science Journal* in April, 1883, and was for many years its editor as well as its chief contributor. She founded the *Christian Science Quarterly* in 1890, the *Christian Science Sentinel* in 1898, *Der Christian Science Herold* (in German) in 1902, and *The Christian Science Monitor*, a daily newspaper, in 1908. She gave these periodicals to her church, together with the plant of the Christian Science Publishing Society. For many years her only income was from the sale of her books and the interest on her investments. She healed the sick and the sinner without price. She contributed a large portion of her means to various charities and public enterprises. She was also public-spirited, and took an interest in the affairs of her State, and in matters pertaining to the betterment of her own city. She was simple in her tastes and habits, punctual and systematic in her work.

The organization, nature, constitution, and government of the Mother Church, its tenets, its church manual, and its special form of public service are all of Mrs. Eddy's devising. They

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are in most respects unique, without precedent in church economy, proofs of her wisdom, and evidence of her ability as a leader. While the business of the Church of Christ, Scientist, is conducted by a board of directors, the inspiration and fountain head of the series of remarkable steps, which have brought Christian Science to the fore so unswervingly and so rapidly, can be traced to this modest and unassuming, but strong and resourceful woman. . . .

Healing the sick is not the prime mission of Christian Science. Its higher mission is to effect the triumph over all evil. Bodily improvement follows as the natural sequence of spiritual regeneration. It holds that the evil-doer is surely on the road to doom, tho he may not yet have realized this, while the well-doer is in the right path tho he may not yet understand it, for "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Christian Science teaches that true and effectual prayer is the spiritual realization of divine truth and love, and of God's infinitude and omnipotence, which lifts mortals above the power of sin and disease.

THE NORTHERN SECURITIES AND STANDARD OIL DECISIONS

(1904—1911)

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES¹

The Anti-Trust Law was introduced by Senator John Sherman on March 21, 1890. It was drawn up in response to the very strong public feeling excited by the movement of that day, for combination of manufacturing enterprises in this country into single powerful corporations. From the debates on the bill, it is evident that the legislators had in mind primarily such industrial undertakings, and not combinations of the railways. This was not strange, in view of the novelty of the phenomenon of industrial trusts, of the pledge of political convention platforms to restrain the powers of such amalgamations, and of the fact that railway combinations were not an incident of the period. With the railways of 1890, indeed, the problem was rather to make both ends meet in the finances of any given company than to reach out for acquisition of competitors. But, on the other hand, the legislation of 1890 unquestionably did not exclude the railways—a point of much importance in its bearing on subsequent discussion.

¹ From Noyes's "Forty Years of American Finance." By permission of the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Copyright, 1898, 1909.

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As originally proposed, the Act of 1890 declared illegal "all arrangements, contracts, agreements, trusts, or combinations . . . to prevent full and free competition," not only in the sale of articles of production and manufacture, but in their transportation. As finally amended and enacted, the law made the very broad declaration that "every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal," and it declared it to be the duty of the Federal attorney-general and the several district attorneys "to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations." . . .

In the opinion of the highest court, the Anti-Trust Law applied, not alone to industrial, but to railway combinations. We have seen to what extent, under the auspices of the ambitious railway promoters of 1901 and 1906, this consolidation movement had gone forward, and to what results it seemed to point. In large measure, the subsequent moves of the Roosevelt Administration's law department were concerned with the industrial trusts or combinations; but it was not illogical that in 1902, its first challenge should have been directed against these railway projects. The note was sounded in February, 1902, when the Attorney-General, Mr. P. C. Knox,² entered suit for the Government against the Northern Securities Company. This concern was an outgrowth of the famous "Northern Pacific corner" of May 9, 1901, when the disastrous contest between the Harriman and Morgan interests, for

² Now Secretary of State in President Taft's Cabinet.

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ownership of the Northern Pacific Railway, was compromised by deposit of their stock and that of the parallel Great Northern Railway Company in the hands of a holding corporation. This corporation had a stock of \$400,000,000, which it exchanged for shares in the two railways; its directors were selected from the rival boards.

Mr. Knox attacked the merger as "a virtual consolidation of two competing transcontinental lines," whereby not only would "monopoly of the interstate and foreign commerce, formerly carried on by them as competitors, be created," but whereby, through use of the same machinery, "the entire railway systems of the country may be absorbed, merged, and consolidated." A year after its introduction, on April 9, 1903, the Circuit Court before which the suit was brought decided for the Government, the essential part of its decision being the dictum that the merger "destroyed every motive for competition between the two roads engaged in interstate traffic, which were natural competitors for business." Appealing thence to the Federal Supreme Court, the company's counsel fought on the theory that the merger was no restraint of trade because the Northern Securities had committed no overt act in such direction, and because the combination had primarily been formed to protect and develop trade. The court, in its decision of March 14, 1904, found that, "necessarily, the constituent companies ceased, under such a combination, to be in active competition for trade and commerce," and that, independently of overt acts, "the mere existence of such a combination, and the power acquired by the holding company, . . .

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constitute a menace to, and a restraint upon, that freedom of commerce which Congress intended to recognize and protect."

In a bench of nine, four justices ruled on this ground against the appeal and four in favor of it. The ninth member, Justice Brewer, dissented from the larger application of the above-cited principles, on the ground that "the broad and sweeping language of the opinion of the court might tend to unsettle legitimate business enterprises, stifle or retard wholesome business activities," and he rejected the application of the Anti-Trust Law to "minor contracts in partial restraint of trade," already recognized by common law. But he held the Northern Securities device to be one which "might be extended until a single corporation whose stock was owned by three or four parties would be in practical control . . . of the whole transportation system of the country," and on that ground concurred in dismissing the appeal. The order of the lower court, that the Northern Securities Company be dissolved, was therefore reaffirmed. In due course, tho not until after another legal fight over methods of redistributing its holdings to owners of Northern Securities shares, the company surrendered its Northern Pacific and Great Northern stock, and practically went out of existence.

It was a victory of high importance, and a check, whose completeness was not fully recognized at first, to the effort of consolidated capital to seat itself in complete and impregnable control of industry. Much was made, by critics, of the Administration's attitude, of the fact that

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redistribution of the holdings left the Morgan and Harriman interests still in possession of their part of the disputed shares. But this argument overlooked the facts that the stocks were now again very largely on the open market, and that the most promising machinery ever contrived for complete eventual monopoly had been shattered.

In my judgment, the overthrow of the Northern Securities combination was the most positive achievement of the Roosevelt Administration in the field of corporation finance. It was something more even than protection of the citizen from the aggression of capital suggested by Justice Brewer; the interest of investors, of the financial markets themselves, would have been placed in the most serious jeopardy had that merger been upheld. For the promoters of the Northern Securities were traveling on a path of capital inflation which logically had no end except in eventual exhaustion of credit and general bankruptcy.

The Northern Securities victory by no means ended the activities of the Government prosecutors against corporations, tho no subsequent achievement was of equal importance. To a large extent, the later moves of the Roosevelt Administration had to do with secret discriminations in railway rates. In some of these suits the gravity of the abuse was not clear, and in others the outcome much less gratifying, than in the Northern Securities case. The Standard Oil prosecution, announced by the President in a special message of May 4, 1906, ended in such a way as largely to defeat the Government's own purposes. The exploits of the Standard Oil Company, in the

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matter of secret concessions from the railways, had been exposed sensationally in the popular magazines,* and the Government won a jury verdict, in August, 1907, wholly against the company. The Elkins Law, on which the suit was based, provided that "every person or corporation who shall offer, grant, give or solicit, accept or receive" from a railway any "rebates, concession, or discrimination," should on conviction be punished for each offense by a fine of not less than \$1,000 or more than \$20,000.

Judge Landis, sitting in the Federal District Court of Indiana, had to pass on the question how many separate offenses were to be subject to such fine. The railway rebates had been granted during the period from September, 1903, to March, 1905, inclusive; counsel for the company asked, first, that the whole series be adjudged one infraction of the law, or, second, that the violations be fixt at three in number, because the rate was determined once a year, or, third, that the number be declared as thirty-six, because that number of bills were rendered. The court rejected all three suggestions; declared on August 3, 1907, that each of the 1,462 loaded cars forwarded at the discriminating rate was a separate offense; imposed for each the maximum fine of \$20,000, and thereby arrived at the somewhat extraordinary penalty of \$29,240,000.

This fine, imposed as it was, not on the \$98,000,000 "Standard Oil Trust," but on the immediate offender, the \$1,000,000 subsidiary Standard Oil Company of Indiana, went, even in the popular

* Notably by Ida M. Tarbell in *McClure's Magazine*.

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judgment of the day, beyond the bounds of reason; it was commonly expected that the higher courts would set it aside, and, as a matter of fact, the Illinois Circuit Court, in July, 1908, found that a fine thus computed "had no basis in any intention or fixt rule discoverable in the statute," and was many times confiscatory. The court to whom the case was remanded for retrial directed, in March, 1909, a verdict of acquittal for lack of proper evidence. In this matter, despite an overwhelming and not unfounded dislike to the methods of the Standard Oil Company, public sympathy was with the corporation.

* Various suits followed the decision of March, 1909, including suits in Texas and Missouri. The most important of these was concluded at St. Louis in November, 1909, the testimony covering 10,000 pages, and other evidences covering 15,000 more. The decision in this case, covering 20,000 words, was rendered in St. Paul. It upheld the Sherman Anti-trust law as a rightful exercise of the power of Congress to control commerce between States and with foreign nations, and declared the Standard Oil Company a combination in restraint of trade. The case was appealed by the company to the United States Supreme Court, which rendered a decision in May, 1911, under which the company was directed to dissolve into its component parts, and was restrained from continuing by any device whatever, directly or indirectly, the illegal combination. The trust had until December, 1911, in which to effect a dissolution. When the dissolution took place certificates for stock in more than thirty companies were sent to owners of stock in the old Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Small holders received in some of these companies only fractional shares.

THE PANIC OF 1907

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES¹

It had for many years been a cardinal doctrine, in American banking circles, that a panic like those of 1873 and 1893 would never again be witnessed in this country. The ground for this belief lay in the phenomenal increase of our economic strength, the "coordination of American industry" since 1899, the establishment of the gold standard of currency, and, more particularly, the great and concentrated resources of our banks. We have discovered the weak point of this argument; the strain imposed on credit had as greatly exceeded precedent as did the strength of the organism subjected to it. But there were other reasons why the idea of an American commercial crisis in 1907 had not been entertained. One was the fact that predictions of the sort, in 1901 and 1903, had failed so signally of fulfilment. Another was prevalent belief in the "twenty-year cycle" between two great panics. . . .

Even if not prepared, however, for another panic of the sort, the community found itself, as 1907 drew on, in a thickening atmosphere of apprehension. In June, an \$8,000,000 iron-manufacturing house went down at New York City; in midsummer, two New York City loans, offered for public subscription, failed to find a market;

¹ From Noyes's "Forty Years of American Finances." By permission of the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Copyright, 1909.

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in the early autumn, the \$52,000,000 New York street railway combination went into receivers' hands, followed, a few weeks later, by the \$34,000,000 Westinghouse Electric Company; early in October, the storm broke with the utmost suddenness and violence on the New York banks.

One of the characteristic incidents of the era of speculation, watched by conservative financiers with much uneasiness, had been what was called "chain banking." In New York City half a dozen banking institutions of the second rank had been bought up by a speculating financier. He had used his stock in one institution as collateral on which to borrow money; the proceeds he had used to buy stock in another bank, repeating the process with each new acquisition. Controlling his "chain of banks" on such a tenure, he had utilized the whole of them to promote his personal speculations. This had been going on during half a dozen years. On Wednesday, October 16, 1907, one of these institutions, the Mercantile National, of New York City, a bank with \$11,500,000 deposits, applied to the other banks of the Clearing-House for help.

While the Clearing-House committee was investigating the Mercantile's condition, financial uneasiness began to spread to the community at large. On Thursday, the committee announced that the crippled bank would be helped through, and an interval of relief occurred. Other events, however, which occurred at the same time, and the demand of the Clearing-House banks that, as a condition for their assistance, all the directors of the Mercantile should resign, disclosed the fact that the bank's predicament had occurred

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through misuse of its capital, by its president, in copper share speculation. During the two or three ensuing days, bankers were very generally employed in overhauling accounts of other institutions with which they had engagements. Late Monday afternoon, October 21st, the National Bank of Commerce suddenly announced that it would no longer accept for collection checks of the Knickerbocker Trust Company. With the next day's opening, a run began on that institution, a concern with 17,000 depositors and total deposit liabilities of \$35,000,000. By noon the Knickerbocker had closed its doors; next day, nearly every trust company in the city was besieged by a line of panic-stricken depositors. Nothing like this had been seen in New York City since 1873; even in 1884 and 1893, the New York bank runs were confined to one or two crippled institutions. The extraordinary phenomena which followed the Knickerbocker failure can not be understood except by a glance at the nature and history of the institutions on which the panic of 1907 now converged. . . .

The Knickerbocker closed its doors on October 22d; that night, certain other trust companies sought aid from the banks to safeguard them against a run. Knowledge of this conference, reported next morning in the daily papers, brought the run at once; and long before business opened on October 23d, lines of depositors had formed outside the doors of other companies. The Knickerbocker had catered especially to the so-called "up-town clientage" of the shopping and residence district; its main competitor in this line of business had been the Lincoln Trust Com-

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pany, with something like 8,000 depositors and demand deposits of \$16,000,000. On Broadway and Wall Street, the Trust Company of America had accumulated \$42,000,000 demand deposits from 12,000 separate depositors. Against these demand liabilities the Lincoln had been keeping \$1,100,000 in its cash reserve and the America \$3,200,000.

On these two institutions there now converged such a run as was probably never witnessed in the history of banking. It must be remembered that banks and other trust companies, to whom the beleaguered institutions were indebted, or with whom checks on the Lincoln or America were deposited, had no other way of collecting than by stationing messengers in the line of frightened depositors; this was the punishment for the events of 1903.

Recognizing the gravity of the crisis, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Cortelyou, came on at once from Washington, and arranged to deposit \$35,000,000 of the Government surplus with the national banks, by whom it was hurriedly advanced to the trust companies against their liquid assets. This great sum was almost instantly engulfed in the withdrawals by depositors; the Trust Company of America alone had to pay out \$34,000,000 to depositors. The runs continued fourteen successive days, depositors holding their places in line by night to get a chance to withdraw their funds next day. Ten million dollars cash provided by other institutions went with the rest; the run was not stopt until, on November 6th, the older trust companies had organized in committee to assume responsibility

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for the two hard-pressed institutions. In the meantime, during the panic week itself, six banks in Greater New York, and three trust companies other than the Knickerbocker—mostly small institutions, but with deposits aggregating \$57,000,000—closed their doors, and a general run upon the savings-banks caused application of the sixty-day notice rule for withdrawal of deposits.

On Thursday, October 24th, panic swept over the Stock Exchange. The bank position being then in its most critical phase, restriction of credit occurred on a scale which, if continued, would probably have reduced the Stock Exchange community to general insolvency. This day of suspense—an unvarying incident of formidable credit panics—brought the rate for Stock Exchange demand loans up to 125 per cent.; before the day was over, however, personal intervention of the president of the Stock Exchange and of Mr. J. P. Morgan with the banks caused release of \$25,000,000 which, in accordance with sound rule, was loaned out at high rates, but in such manner as to meet pressing exigencies. This averted the formidable aspect of the crisis which, in 1873, made necessary the closing of the Stock Exchange and which in 1907 forced the governments of several Western States to decree a series of special holidays.

The crisis of the banks, however, had only begun, and it followed the lines made familiar by all former crises. The New York City national banks alone held in 1907 no less than \$470,000,000 deposits due to other institutions; considerably more than double what had been thus held in 1893. Banks of interior cities, most of

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which had three-fifths of their 15 per cent. reserve thus deposited in other hands, took natural alarm at the panic news, remembered 1893, and called for return of part of these deposits. What followed, merely repeated history—a history, however, which the country had been assured could never be repeated. The New York banks, on Saturday, October 26th, determined to take out Clearing-House loan certificates. The intent of this expedient, never adopted since the panic of 1893, was to help out hard-pressed banks through loan of the cash resources of their neighbors; but its result, in 1907, as in 1893, was to bring about general suspension of cash payments in the Clearing-House. Before the panic of 1907 was over the New York banks had \$88,420,000 of such loan certificates in use, as against a maximum of \$38,280,000 in the panic of 1893, and the loan certificates remained in use during twenty-two weeks, as against only nineteen weeks' duration in the earlier panic.

Two days after New York had set the example, practically every clearing-house in the country took similar action—a wholly unprecedented event, which resulted in issue, throughout the whole United States, of \$238,000,000 of such certificates, as against \$69,000,000 during 1893. Notwithstanding this recourse, reserves of the New York banks, which had stood at a surplus of \$11,182,000 in the week before the panic, fell to a deficit of \$54,103,000 on November 3d, very much the largest shortage of the kind in our banking history, the maximum deficit of 1893 having been \$16,545,000.

This formidable shrinkage was occasioned by

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an actual loss of \$51,000,000 cash in the five intervening weeks, and the position thus created brought suddenly into view two other phenomena of 1893. Hoarding of cash by individuals set in; it was estimated in high quarters that, in the country as a whole, no less a sum than \$296,000,000 actually disappeared from sight. This hoarding partly caused, and was partly caused by, the policy of banks in limiting the amount of cash which they would pay out to depositors, and one immediate result of such restriction being the issue of emergency currency by the banks of cities like Pittsburgh and Chicago, where manufacturers' pay-rolls created urgent need for great sums of currency. The amount of such makeshift money has been estimated at upward of \$96,000,000. The next result of the bank restriction was a premium on currency, paid in checks on such institutions, which rose to 4 per cent. and which continued for two months, as against only one month's duration in the panic of 1893. . . .

There were left the larger after-effects, of which the panic itself was only a premonitory symptom, and which came only gradually into sight, along with assertions that they would not come at all, on this occasion as on others of the kind. The panic of 1907 was unlike the panic of 1893, which followed a period of uncertainty and misgiving, leading to acquiescence, on the part of the community at large, in the certainty of prolonged reaction and depression. It resembled far more intimately the panic of 1873, which came, like the traditional "bolt from the blue," on a situation presenting so brilliant an

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aspect of assured prosperity that the people—most of all the great capitalists whose schemes had come to earth—refused for many months to admit that one chapter in finance and industry had ended and that another and different one was opening.

The visible sequel to the panic of 1907 was necessarily recognized. That commercial failures in the United States should not only have increased, in the panic months of November and December, 30 per cent. in number as compared with 1906, and 125 per cent. in liabilities, but that the first nine months of 1908 should have shown increase of 55 per cent. over 1907 in number, and 120 per cent. in liabilities, was a matter of record. So was the shrinkage in the iron trade, in December, 1907, to 36 per cent. of normal, and the 50 per cent. reduction in iron production during the first half of 1908; the decrease, for the full year 1908, of \$290,000,000, or $11\frac{5}{8}$ per cent., in traffic receipts of American railways; the shrinkage of nearly 17 per cent. in checks drawn on American banks; the reduction in March, 1908, of 25 per cent. in output, 10 per cent. in wages, and 25 to 50 per cent. in prices in the textile trade, and the great increase in number of unemployed.

PEARY'S FINDING OF THE NORTH POLE

(1909)

ADMIRAL PEARY'S OWN ACCOUNT¹

My reckoning (April 6) showed that we were in the immediate neighborhood of the goal of all our striving. After the usual arrangements for going into camp, at approximate local noon, of the Columbia meridian, I made the first observation at our polar camp. It indicated our position as $89^{\circ} 57'$

Yet with the Pole actually in sight I was too weary to take the last few steps. The accumulated weariness of all those days and nights of forced marches and insufficient sleep, constant peril and anxiety, seemed to roll across me all at once. I was actually too exhausted to realize at the moment that my life's purpose had been achieved. As soon

¹ From Peary's "The North Pole: Its Discovery." By permission of the publishers, Frederick A. Stokes Company. Copyright, 1910.

Among famous Arctic explorations in the past have been those of Sir John Frobisher (1576), William Baffin (1615), Sir William Parry (1819), Sir John Franklin (1818, 1819, and 1845), McClintock, Lane, Hall, Hayes, Nordenskiöld, De Long, Greely, Nares, Nansen, Greenfell and Fox. Sir John Franklin's expedition of 1845 was never heard from. The number of Franklin relief expeditions, public and private, sent out from England and America within ten years afterward has been reckoned as thirty-nine. The successful search for the Greely expedition under Admiral Schley took place in 1884. Greely, when found, had lost eighteen of his men.

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as our igloos had been completed and we had eaten our dinner and double-rationed the dogs, I turned in for a few hours of absolutely necessary sleep. But, weary tho I was, I could not sleep long. The first thing I did after awaking was to write these words in my diary:

"The Pole at last. The prize of three centuries. My dream and goal for twenty years. Mine at last! I can not bring myself to realize it. It seems all so simple and commonplace."

Everything was in readiness for an observation at 6 P.M., Columbia meridian time, in case the sky should be clear, but at that hour it was, unfortunately, still overcast. But as there were indications that it would clear before long, two of the Eskimos and myself made ready a light sledge carrying only the instruments, a tin of pemmican, and one or two skins; and drawn by a double team of dogs, we pushed on for an estimated distance of ten miles. While we traveled, the sky cleared, and at the end of the journey I was able to get a satisfactory series of observations at Columbia meridian midnight. These observations indicated that our position was then beyond the Pole.

Nearly everything in the circumstances which then surrounded us seemed too strange to be thoroughly realized; but one of the strangest of those circumstances seemed to me to be the fact that, in a march of only a few hours, I had passed from the western to the eastern hemisphere and had verified my position at the summit of the world. It was hard to realize that, in the first miles of this brief march, we had been traveling due north, while, on the last few miles of the same march, we had been traveling south, altho

PEARY'S FINDING OF THE POLE

we had all the time been traveling precisely in the same direction. It would be difficult to imagine a better illustration of the fact that most things are relative. Again, please consider the uncommon circumstance that, in order to return to our camp, it now became necessary to turn and go north again for a few miles and then to go directly south, all the time traveling in the same direction.

As we passed back along that trail which none had ever seen before or would ever see again, certain reflections intruded themselves which, I think, may fairly be called unique. East, west, and north had disappeared for us. Only one direction remained, and that was south. Every breeze which could possibly blow upon us, no matter from what point of the horizon, must be a south wind. Where we were, one day and one night constituted a year, a hundred such days and nights constituted a century. Had we stood in that spot during the six months of the Arctic winter night, we should have seen every star of the northern hemisphere circling the sky at the same distance from the horizon, with Polaris (the North Star) practically in the zenith.

All during our march back to camp the sun was swinging around in its ever-moving circle. At six o'clock on the morning of April 7, having again arrived at Camp Jesup, I took another series of observations. These indicated our position as being four or five miles from the Pole, toward Bering Strait. Therefore, with a double team of dogs and a light sledge, I traveled directly toward the sun an estimated distance of eight miles. Again I returned to the camp in time for a final and completely satisfactory series of observations on April

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7 at noon, Columbia meridian time. These observations gave results essentially the same as those made at the same spot twenty-four hours before.

I had now taken in all thirteen single, or six and one-half double, altitudes of the sun, at two different stations, in three different directions, at four different times. All were under satisfactory conditions, except for the first single altitude on the sixth. The temperature during these observations had been from minus 11° Fahrenheit to minus 30° Fahrenheit, with clear sky and calm weather.

. . . In traversing the ice in these various directions as I had done, I had allowed approximately ten miles for possible errors in my observations, and at some moment during these marches and countermarches, I had passed over or very near the point where north and south and east and west blend into one.

Of course there were some more or less informal ceremonies connected with our arrival at our difficult destination, but they were not of a very elaborate character. We planted five flags at the top of the world. The first one was a silk American flag which Mrs. Peary gave me fifteen years ago. That flag has done more traveling in high latitudes than any other ever made. I carried it wrapped about my body on every one of my expeditions northward after it came into my possession, and I left a fragment of it at each of my successive "farthest norths." Cape Morris K. Jesup, the northernmost point of land in the known world; Cape Thomas Hubbard, the northernmost known point of Jesup Land, west of Grant Land; Cape Columbia, the northernmost point of North American lands; and my farthest north in 1906, latitude

PEARY'S FINDING OF THE POLE

87° 6' in the ice of the Polar sea. By the time it actually reached the Pole, it was somewhat worn and discolored. A broad diagonal section of this ensign would now mark the farthest goal of earth—the place where I and my dusky companions stood. . . .

I told Henson to time the Eskimos for three rousing cheers, which they gave with the greatest enthusiasm. Thereupon, I shook hands with each member of the party—surely a sufficiently uncerecermonious affair to meet with the approval of the most democratic. The Eskimos were childishly delighted with our success. While, of course, they did not realize its importance fully, or its world-wide significance, they did understand that it meant the final achievement of a task upon which they had seen me engaged for many years. Then, in a space between the ice blocks of a pressure ridge, I deposited a glass bottle containing a diagonal strip of my flag and records.

This journey was my eighth into the Arctic wilderness. In that wilderness I had spent nearly twelve years out of the twenty-three between my thirtieth and my fifty-third year, and the intervening time spent in civilized communities during that period had been mainly occupied with preparations for returning to the wilderness. The determination to reach the Pole had become so much a part of my being that, strange as it may seem, I long ago ceased to think of myself save as an instrument for the attainment of that end. To the layman this may seem strange, but an inventor can understand it, or an artist, or any one who has devoted himself for years upon years to the service of an idea. . . . The thirty hours at

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the Pole, what with my marchings and counter-marchings, together with the observations and records, were pretty well crowded. I found time, however, to write to Mrs. Peary on a United States postal card which I had found on the ship during the winter. It had been my custom at various important stages of the journey northward to write such a note in order that, if anything serious happened to me, these brief communications might ultimately reach her at the hands of survivors.

In the afternoon of the 7th, after flying our flags and taking our photographs, we went into our igloos and tried to sleep a little, before starting south again. I could not sleep and my two Eskimos, Seeglo and Egingwah, who occupied the igloo with me, seemed equally restless. They turned from side to side, and when they were quiet I could tell from their uneven breathing that they were not asleep. Tho they had not been specially excited the day before when I told them that we had reached the goal, yet they also seemed to be under the same exhilarating influence which made sleep impossible for me.

Finally I rose, and telling my men and the three men in the other igloo, who were equally wakeful, that we would try to make our last camp, some thirty miles to the south, before we slept, I gave orders to hitch up the dogs and be off. And about four o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th of April we turned our backs upon the camp at the North Pole. One backward glance I gave—then turned my face toward the south and toward the future.

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